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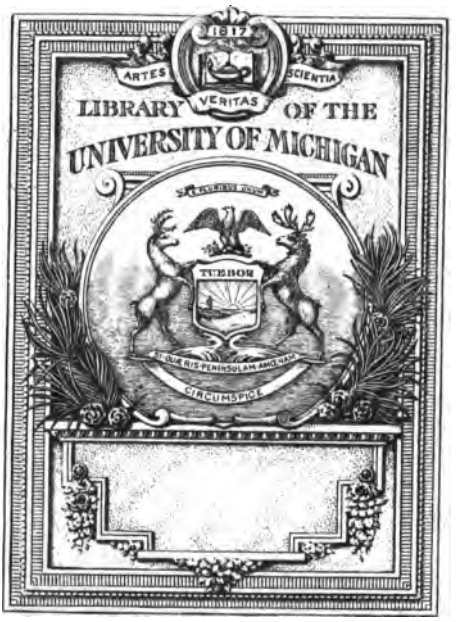

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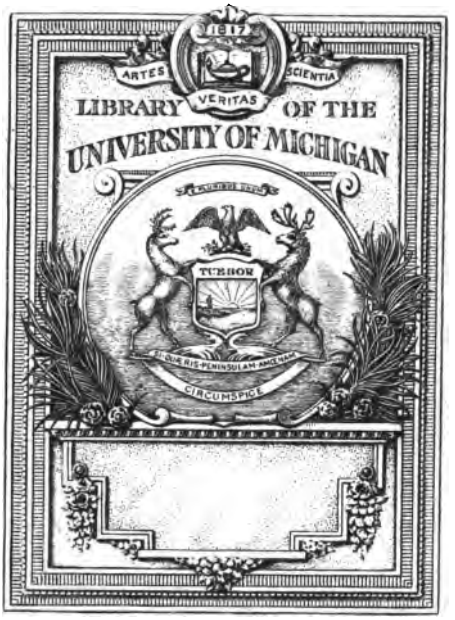

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OF THE

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ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EDITED BY THE

REV. CHARLES ROGERS, LL.D. F.S.A. SCOT.

HISTORIOGRAPHER TO THE SOCIETY

VOL. II.

~~NEW SERIES~~

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1873

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PREFACE.

THE present volume includes the more important papers read at the various meetings of the Society during session 1871-2, and a portion of those read during session 1872-3. These papers, it is hoped, will be found within the scope of the Society's objects. As the Society makes progress, the character of its proceedings will doubtless prove more recondite, and future volumes of Transactions will exhibit a larger proportion of historical materials printed for the first time. Since the former volume was issued, the membership has greatly increased, the Fellows on the roll in February 1872 being 108, while the number is at present 303. On the 28th June 1872, the President, Earl Russell, received a communication from the Secretary of State, intimating that Her Majesty the Queen had been graciously pleased to constitute the institution as a Royal Society.

CHARLES ROGERS.

SNOWDOUN VILLA, LEWISHAM, S.E.,
July 1873.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF

THE RIGHT HON. EARL RUSSELL, K.G., PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

(Delivered on the 24th June 1872.)

IN rising to address you I cannot but feel that I am occupying the place of one who was illustrious not only by the accomplishment of his great work, the "History of Greece," but by his extensive learning, his love of liberty, and his reverence for ancient institutions, combined with readiness to embrace truth from whatever quarter it might come. These qualities won him the attachment of the society in which he lived, and the admiration and respect of the nation to which he belonged.

Mr Grote was too enlightened a lover of freedom and civilisation not to appreciate the importance of the battle of Marathon, or to fail in rejoicing at an event by which the freedom of Athens and the triumph of Grecian civilisation were assured.

It has been the task and the glory of eminent authors to describe the causes which have led to the decline and fall of great States. Montesquieu was the author of a volume on the greatness and decline of Rome, which is replete with philosophical spirit and historical knowledge. Gibbon wrote a history of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." Every one who has read that work must be struck with the vast learning it dis-

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plays, and attracted by the epigrammatic style in which whole centuries of historical interest are portrayed in a few sentences of sarcasm or scorn. Lord Byron, in two stanzas of sublime indignation on the "Dying Gladiator," has poetically stigmatised the cruelty which deformed and disgraced the Roman people.

> "He reck'd not of the life he lost nor prize,
> But where his rude hut by the Danube lay,
> There were his young barbarians all at play,
> *There* was their Dacian mother—he their sire,
> Butcher'd to make a Roman holiday—
> All this rush'd with his blood—shall he expire
> And unavenged? Arise, ye Goths, and glut your ire." *

When the Emperor Gratian permitted the legions to leave off the use of armour, he virtually deprived the Romans of their only security, and opened the various doors by which Goths and Vandals, Huns and Germans, Britons and Illyrians rushed to seize on the spoils of the empire, which the poets of the Augustine age had vainly flattered themselves would be eternal.

My subject is very different from those which Montesquieu and Gibbon have so ably treated.

When, for more than a thousand years, the conquerors of the Roman Empire had been settling themselves down on the territories they had conquered, and when they had framed institutions by which to govern the races they had subdued, fused as these races were into various states, and divided by different languages, the kingdoms which they had erected fell in some instances into the same habits of luxury and vice, which were accounted the proximate cause of the fall of Rome.

It becomes a curious and interesting subject of inquiry, What is to be the fate of the civilised nations of the world?

There is one thing very obvious at the beginning of this inquiry: the nations which have come into conflict with European armies and navies, have been very inferior in strength and power to those nations which warred with the Roman Empire, and only yielded after bloody battles, or

* "Childe Harold," canto iv. cxli. and cxlii.

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maintained to the last a barbarous independence. The Mexicans and Peruvians, the Red Indians of North America, and the races inhabiting the islands discovered by Columbus, have fallen an easy prey to the Spaniards, under Cortés and Pizarro, to the Dutch and the English. The savage tribes which in North America have come into contact with European races have generally proved themselves unfit for civilisation, and so liable to be degraded by habits of intemperance, that after no very long period their courage has degenerated; excessive mortality has rapidly thinned their numbers, and they have disappeared from the lands where they had been allowed to settle. Neither can any one imagine that the descendants of those races conquered by Cortés and Pizarro will ever be able to re-enact in the capitals of Europe the revolutions which before the close of the fifth century gave over Rome to the Vandals, and made Odoacer king of Italy.

While the events of modern times differ greatly from those of ancient history, the character of the historians and of their works differs widely from the examples given us by Herodotus and Thucydides, by Livy and Sallust, by Tacitus and by Plutarch.

The narrative of Tacitus describing how poison was administered by order of Nero to Britannicus, while his sister the empress did not venture to show by gesture or exclamation that she was aware that anything more than a passing fainting fit had struck down her brother, is dreadful and appalling. In many instances the dramatic character of the incident has affected the truth of the history. In our day the research of learned men has given us truer pictures of great historical events than former writers ever attained, or perhaps desired to attain. It would not now be permitted to David Hume to describe Charles the First as having his sleep disturbed by the noise of carpenters erecting the scaffold for his execution, while he slept at St James's Palace, and the scaffold was prepared at Whitehall. By laborious examination of records, Froude and Motley have given us more accurate delineations of Elizabeth Queen of England, Mary Queen of Scots, William

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the Silent, Burleigh and Walsingham, Murray and Morton, than our ancestors were ever permitted to see.

It would be at once tedious and unprofitable were I to enter upon a review of the decline of Spain; of the servitude and the brilliancy of the French monarchy; of the appalling expiation of its crimes and its vices; or of the transitory restoration of religion and social order at the close of the last century.

It would be more useful to endeavour to trace the principal changes which have occurred in the state of the world since the peace of 1815. We may there find the soundings of a channel which may be of use to future navigators. I rejoice to say that the indications which I find in the history of the past seem to me to be generally of good omen for the future.

I am proud to mark the advance which has been made both in civil and religious freedom. The slavery of the negro race, which throws so dark a shade over the history of the three preceding centuries, and which was countenanced by the most enlightened nations of Europe and America, has received what, I may trust to be, its death-blow during the present century. Animated by the eloquent denunciations of Wilberforce and Clarkson, the Government of Lord Grey undertook an inquiry into the condition of the British colonies. When Sir James Graham presided alternately with me in a select committee of the House of Commons on this subject, we found to our great relief that the relations of master and slave had not been those of unmitigated cruelty and helpless degradation; that the families of the masters were often the protectors of the negroes, and that much of the work in the colonies was performed by gangs, who received regular wages for their labour, and were thus preparing themselves for the contracts and immunities of freemen. Still the system was one of horrible tyranny in the hands of violent and unjust men; and it was a day of great rejoicing to us all, when, by a gift, large though inadequate, of twenty millions sterling, the British Parliament was able, in 1833, to legislate for the abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions. This

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Act abolished slavery in distant possessions and colonies. The UnitedStates in the course of their late civil war also abolished slavery. Spain and Brazil we may now affirm will not sanction slavery much longer.

But the friends of freedom have naturally looked not only to the abolition of personal slavery, but to the extension of political liberty.

> "For he who values liberty, confines
> His zeal for her predominance within
> No narrow bounds; her cause engages him
> Wherever pleaded."

The people of Italy, who have been described as slaves, but slaves always fretting against their chains, have by the abilities of a great statesman, the patriotism of the House of Savoy, and the ardour and courage of the nation, been emancipated amid shouts of joy for free and united Italy.

In Spain, although the work is not yet accomplished, there is already a bright prospect. There, as in Italy, the desire for religious liberty has been to a great extent gratified. At Cordova and Seville, as at Florence and Naples, Protestant churches have been established, and the Bible may now be read without fear of the Inquisition or of such punishment as was inflicted not many years ago on the family of the Madiai. In Austria, religious liberty has been sanctioned by the Emperor, and the treaties with the Pope abrogated, with general applause.

It remains to be considered whether the scourge of war, which inflicts so many direct and so many indirect evils on mankind can be mitigated, or, still better, averted in future. For my part I have little confidence in the permanent duration of treaties of peace, or of complicated or artificial schemes of arbitration. It appears to me that it is by no formal rules, by no complex machinery of councils and congresses, that the future peace of the world can be promoted and secured. Our hope must be in the introduction of a Christian temper into all the relations of nations as well as of individuals. The inspiration which prompted Christ's sermon on the Mount

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which enabled Paul on the Hill of Mars to tell the people of Athens that he would reveal to them an "unknown God, the God who made the world and all that is therein;" such is the spirit by which alone living nations and their posterity can realise upon earth "Peace and good-will."

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ES-SUKHRA,

The Locked-up Stone of Jerusalem.

By General the Hon. Sir EDWARD CUST, G.C.H., D.C.L.

THE intense interest which has been associated with Jerusalem and the Holy Land by every class and every nation of Christians, has latterly been assisted by many concurrent circumstances. Steam has bridged the Mediterranean, and overcome the desert, effecting even the removal of Moslem prejudices hitherto insurmountable. The examination of the principal localities of Palestine, endeared to the pious of every nation, has aroused universal inquiry, and a visit to Jerusalem has superseded Italy, and even Greece and Egypt, in the "grand tour" to which our own excursionists formerly limited their attention. A critical study of Biblical history has vindicated its proper place among the mere elegances and artistic delights of European travel, and the ground trodden by "the blessed feet" of the Messiah is now the beaten track of all the world, and the subject of nearly universal contemplation.

Modern travellers in Palestine relate the discovery of a mass of compact limestone, identical with the geological formation of the district in which Jerusalem stands, in the sacred enclosure occupied by the Temple of Solomon. This is called Es-Sukhra, the locked-up stone. It is of oblong, but irregular form, rising from the ground upon a mean diameter of thirty-three feet, somewhat resembling the segment of a sphere. The surface in its natural aspect is rugged. Within it is contained a hollow cave, into which one descends by a stair on the south and east sides. The cave is a chamber forming an irregular square of about eighteen feet, and is eight feet high at its loftiest part. The roof is a natural uneven vault, in the midst of which is an

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aperture almost cylindrical, passing through the entire thickness of the surface rock, and having a diameter of two or three feet.

Any one hearing for the first time of an unsightly rock within the precincts of Solomon's Temple, so renowned as a work of artistic magnificence and beauty, would be disposed to inquire what purpose it had served in Jewish economy, and what reason can be assigned for absolute silence respecting it, both in Bible narrative, and in the pages of Josephus. We may further ask why have the historians of the crusades almost entirely overlooked so remarkable a feature in the Holy City, and why is it unnoticed by Maundrell, Pocock, and other travellers, who have visited and described spectacles and scenes at Jerusalem?

Seven centuries had intervened between the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187, and the beginning of the present century, when an opportunity occurred of piercing through the darkness that shrouded the Kaaba of the two great Mahommedan temples. This opportunity occurred in a manner hereafter to be stated. But on the threshold of our inquiry it may be asked whether it is worth while to disturb the silence which has so long surrounded a rough piece of rock, unassociated as it might seem with ordinary historical narrative. It must be borne in mind that it has been exempted from complete silence and utter insignificance on the part of its Mahommedan possessors. It is one of the most venerated spots in Moslem tradition. The followers of Mahommed have so loaded this remarkable stone with their legends, that it has become in their eyes second only to their sacred Kaaba in Arabia. Mahommed is himself reported to have said, "The first of places is Jerusalem, and the first of rocks is Es-Sukhra," and the Muftis have exalted it as a road to paradise, alleging that it bears on its surface the prints of the fingers of the angel Gabriel who brought it down from heaven, and the foot-prints of the camel that carried the prophet into paradise.* For years they say it was employed

* Ali Bey's Travels. London, 1816. Vol. ii., p. 218.

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as a seat of prophecy by those to whom the prophetic gifts were communicated. "As long as the spirit of vaticination continued to enlighten their minds, the stone remained steady for their accommodation, but as soon as the power of prophecy was withdrawn from the world, and the persecuted seers were compelled to flee for safety to other lands, then the stone manifested the profoundest sympathy in their fate, and evinced a determination to accompany them in their flight, on which Gabriel the Archangel interposed his authority, and prevented the departure of the prophet's chair by grasping it with his mighty hand, and nailing it to its rocky bed by seven brass or golden nails. When any event of great importance to the world occurs, one of the nails is said to disappear mysteriously, and when they are all gone they expect that the day of judgment will come. As there are only three left, the Mahommedans believe that the end of all things is not far distant."* Of this quotation the latter portion will be more intelligible when we add the narrative of Ali Bey,† the only European who has entered the sacred chamber of Es-Sukhra. He writes—"On the north side of it may be discovered in the pavement a piece of very fine green marble, some fifteen inches square, which appears as though fastened down originally by great nails. This is called the *door of Paradise.* Several holes in the marble indicate it to have been fixed or fastened formerly by a greater number of nails than at present. These are supposed to have been pulled out by the devil when he wished to enter Paradise, from which attempt he was only prevented by his inability to pull out the nails that remained." The slab is described by other authorities as a circular piece of marble,

* R. Curzon's visit to the Levant, *passim.*

† In 1802, a renegade Christian, who had adopted Mahomedanism, and taken the name Ali Bey, obtained an interview with Sir Joseph Banks, then President of the Royal Society. He represented to Sir Joseph that he, as a Hadgi, could command an entry into the two Kaabas, or most sacred enclosure of Jerusalem and Mecca, and that having acquired the knowledge of making plans and measurements, he would undertake to prepare plans of the holy places in both Kaabas. The offer being accepted, Ali Bey fully executed the purpose of his mission.

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which, on being struck, returns a hollow sound, clearly indicating an excavation beneath. This the Mahommedans describe as "Bir Arrah," the wall of the souls of the wicked, or the entrance of hell. How these Mahommedan traditions obtained origin is unknown, but they seem to belong to a period as remote as the year 636, when the Caliph Omar took possession of the city. He found the stone covered with the circular edifice erected by command of the Emperor Constantine, and which was employed as a Christian place of worship. This he converted into the splendid Mosque, known as the Mosque of Omar, or Kubbit-es-Sukhra. According to Dr James Fergusson, the ingenious architect, the Mosque is in its construction decidedly Roman. He hence infers that it is the identical structure erected by Constantine, when he and his mother, the Empress Helena, visited Jerusalem, and that the Caliph Omar only added the Saracenic cupola. Without fully adopting Dr Fergusson's theory, it may be affirmed that the Emperor Constantine was likely to have reared his sacred edifice on a spot held venerable in the traditions both of Jews and Christians. A tradition of the Jews it certainly was, that the stone Es-Sukhra had been the site of some great work in connection with Solomon's Temple, inasmuch as a writer, known as the Bordeaux Pilgrim, writing, A.D. 333, describes it—"Lapis pertusus ad quem venient Judei singulis annis et unguent eos." We are brought back to the question, why, or for what reason, a huge block of unshapen stone should have been permitted by Solomon to remain in the court of the Temple, in which every treasure of art and precious material had been collected? We must certainly conclude that the stone served an important, and most probably a sacred purpose.

Until lately, it has been almost universally held that the sacrifice of Abraham took place on the mount afterwards crowned by Solomon's Temple. Josephus, Lightfoot, Milman, and others, hold that the very spot where Isaac was offered was the site of the Temple. But a new school of critics assert that we are to regard Mount Gerizim in Samaria as the scene

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of the patriarch's sacrifice. Mount Moriah, they maintain, could not be seen from any distance, and being only fifty miles from Beersheba, could be reached from it in much less time than three days—the length of journey prescribed to the patriarch before his reaching the mount of sacrifice.

Let us consider the points. Abraham, we are informed, went forth from Beersheba "not knowing whither he went."* The uncertainty of his course would cause delay. Roads in Palestine, too, were doubtless formed as yet most imperfectly, and on such roads the progress of an ass, naturally tardy, would be necessarily impeded. Besides, the animal was laden heavily.† The patriarch saw the place "afar off," on the third day of his journey.‡ True; but under the circumstances in which he was journeying, would not ten or twelve miles a day have been a reasonable distance to accomplish? Further, the sacred writer does not aver that three full days had elapsed from the commencement of the journey to the time when Abraham discerned "afar off" the appointed place of sacrifice. He may have commenced his journey in the evening, and have caught view of the spot early on the morning of the third day, a type being thus formed of that greater sacrifice which was to be offered on that sacred mount which Abraham now beheld for the first time.

The expression "mountain" signifies a height, but not necessarily a commanding elevation, and there is nothing in the sacred narrative referring to the form or features of the eminence. When Abraham was at the first commanded to quit his home north of Euphrates for "a land which God would show him," he journeyed in the plenitude of his faith to the land of Canaan, which, however, he only passed through, stopping at Sichem and Bethel, there to receive the promise that the land should be bestowed upon his seed. At these places, and afterwards at Beersheba, he erected altars in token of his piety and gratitude—yet not by Divine command. With the sole exception of Noah at the cessation of the flood, it is not said in Scripture that any one erected an

* Heb. xi. 8. † Gen. xxii. 3. ‡ Gen. xxii. 4.

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altar before the time of Abraham, for while Cain and Abel both made offerings unto the Lord, they used no altars. At Beersheba the patriarch was moved with a desire for the more public worship of God. We read of his there "planting a grove and calling on the name of the Lord, the everlasting God."* He was now in the enjoyment of perfect felicity, and it was when so circumstanced, that he was called on by God to make the sacrifice of the beloved son of his old age. This sacrifice, maintain the critics to whom we have adverted, Abraham was called on to make at Sichem, where he had built an altar when he first received the promise. For this interpretation, we hold, there is not a particle of evidence. Both the Jewish and Christian traditions oppose the theory, and it is in the highest degree improbable that the patriarch should have been desired to retrace his steps from Beersheba, which was situated at the land's southern boundary.

Arrived at the place designed by God, Abraham and his son, leaving the young men and the ass, have "gone yonder to worship,"† Isaac bearing the wood, and his unwavering parent carrying the sacrificial knife. They went to Mount Moriah, and where, as we conceive, the stone Es-Sukhra then stood, and stands now. Before it Abraham heard the Divine voice, saying, "Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything unto him."‡ The Divine purpose was accomplished, Abraham had endured the trial of his faith, and the will of Jehovah had been fulfilled in making known to man the most holy spot of the land of promise. Abraham, it is recorded, named the place Jehovah-jireh,§ a word having the same signification as Moriah, which in Chaldee is rendered "the land of worship," and in Hebrew, "the mountain of vision."

In connection with the name bestowed by the patriarch on this holy spot of sacrifice, the sacred historian adds, "As it is to this day said, In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen." The saying thus recorded, some annotators regard as a pro-

* Gen. xxi. 33. † Gen. xxii. 5. ‡ Gen. xxii. 12. § Gen. xxii. 14.

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verb referring to the providential interference of the Almighty in saving Isaac's life, just as in our own language we might say, "Man's extremity is God's opportunity." To accept such an explanation is too much to undervalue the Divine command, and the circumstances attached to it. If a further test of Abraham's obedience and faith had been required, it was unnecessary that before that trial he should perform a three days' journey, for his faithfulness might as readily have been tested at Beersheba as at Moriah. There was, doubtless, a special purpose in the selection of the spot of sacrifice—a purpose in reference to the future well-being of that people who were concerned in the event. And thus, we conceive, the saying recorded is a prophetic one, meaning that, as on Mount Moriah a ram was provided in substitution for the patriarch's son, so here also should be "seen" or made manifest a nobler substitute, one not for an individual, or a race, but for the whole world.

After this great incident, Bible history quits all notice of Mount Moriah for several years. Dean Stanley remarks that it is one of the peculiarities of Jerusalem that it became the head-quarters of the Divine polity late in the career of the Israelitish nation, their former capital cities being Hebron, Bethel, and Sichem. The city of Jebus was, as belonging to an aboriginal tribe, excluded from any share of occupation, until by David's conquest it became the stronghold of Sion. And here, it may be remarked, that the stone Es-Sukhra is the natural summit of Mount Moriah, for by a singular conformation of ground the valley of the brook Kedron and Gihon (Ge-hinnom) and the subsidence of the Pool of Bethesda isolate it from the hill mass, though it is joined by its western and north-western sides to the large table-land that rises in the middle of Judea from the country about Gihon on the west, to the Mount of Olives on the east. In this easterly direction Jerusalem did not extend till the time of Herod Agrippa.

We now arrive at another important event in the history of Es-Sukhra. By Professor Willis it is held to be part of the

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threshing-floor of Ornan, or Araunah the Jebusite, on which, by command of "the angel of the Lord" David "built an altar unto the Lord and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings."* The occasion of the offering was that the plague which had smitten 70,000 of the people might be stayed; and in performing his rite of sacrifice, the Hebrew monarch unconsciously commemorated a past and foreshadowed a future and far more glorious deliverance. From Ornan or Araunah David purchased the threshing-floor—not it is to be supposed from the price paid (six hundred shekels of gold,† or nearly £600 English money)—the stone on which the grain was separated from the straw, but a considerable portion of space, such as might be required for assembling people to witness the great sacrifices then to be offered. It is also to be remarked that Oriental threshing-floors included a considerable portion of ground, on which the grain might be spread out so as to be winnowed by the wind. Josephus states that David resolved to "call the entire place the altar of all his people, and to build a temple there." We read that when the Angel of the Lord stood between the earth and heaven, having a drawn sword in his hand, "Ornan and his four sons, who were threshing wheat, hid themselves"‡ The space was open, and concealment on the surface impossible. May we not conjecture that they betook themselves to the cave beneath the threshing-floor? The hollow may have been a natural one, afterwards adapted for sacrificial ends.

Most of the altars named in Scripture had corresponding caverns. There was one under the altar of the rock Ophrah,§ and one under the Samaritan altar on Mount Gerizim. In a hot climate they were essential in order to preserve

* 2 Sam. xxiv. 18-25.

† Such is the price mentioned in 1 Chron. xxi. 25, while fifty shekels of silver are named in reference to the transaction in 2 Sam. xxiv. 24. The apparent discrepancy has been explained, we conceive satisfactorily, by regarding the larger price as paying for the threshing-floor, and the smaller price for the oxen and the wood. A shekel of gold was worth 18s. 3d., and a shekel of silver about 2s. 3d., English money.

‡ 1 Chron. xxi. 18-30. § Judges vi. 20.

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health where many animals were slain. Into the cavern the priests and Levites at once removed the offal and unconsumed blood, and thus, even when daily sacrifices were offered, the neighbourhood of the altar was preserved fair and untainted. The quantity of water used in ceremonial ablutions also necessitated a complete system of sewage. The two pools of Siloam, as well as many fountains near the Mosque of Omar, are found to proceed from a spring under the Temple vaults. This spring was the treasure of Jerusalem, and forms

"the brook that flowed
Hard by the oracle of God."

The water used in the sacrifices proceeded from under Es-Sukhra. Beneath it, an artificial fountain is believed to exist now. The water used in ablution was carried off from the cavern by a sewer which was recently discovered near the Fountain of the Virgin. Through this passage the Fillaiden effected their entrance into Es-Haroud, under Ibrahim Pacha. Josephus relates that near the close of the siege of Jerusalem, Simon, one of the Jewish tyrants in the upper city, withdrew, with his friends, into a hiding-place of the nature of a cave, and which had a subterranean outlet.

In the Temple service, Solomon threw into the Divine worship a grandeur and magnificence totally unsurpassed. At the temple dedication were offered 22,000 oxen and 120,000 sheep, while 700 oxen and 7000 sheep were the ordinary offerings. How such vast sacrifices could have been offered on any single altar it is difficult to comprehend ; but the difficulty is diminished if we suppose that the altar of sacrifice stood on Es-Sukhra, which, while sending forth a current of air to intensify the flames which consumed the victims, could receive into its ample chamber all the offal and refuse. The priests were forbidden * to approach the altar by steps, so the slopes of Es-Sukhra would form a gentle acclivity for the rise of the altar.

On the highest part of the rock there stood a low brass

* Exodus xx. 26.

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settle forty-seven feet square, and not exceeding a cubit in height, on which the altar of brass stood, and between the altar and the ascent the priests were enabled to move about, so as to sprinkle the blood of the sacrifices, or to place the victims in order. These were laid in rows ready for the knife, the victims probably being taken up in succession, and immolated on Es-Sukhra, from which, at the south-eastern angle, a crevice would conduct the blood, first into the cavern beneath, and then by a vertical conduit into Gethsemane and Kedron.

Nothing could exceed the prosperity of Israel and Jerusalem during the forty years of Solomon's reign, but the weakness of his successors soon brought down its splendour, and the Temple was stripped of its gold and treasures. The altar, however, always stood in its place on Es-Sukhra, although it is probable that the diminished number of worshippers must have induced the priests to abbreviate the Temple court, because the brazen altar did not require all the space that was hallowed for Solomon's sacrifices. Besides, the Temple that now arose in Samaria, and the worship of the golden calves, drew away the people from the Temple worship, so the altar was less burthened with offerings. It was, however, in constant use till about 300 years after the reign of Solomon, when King Ahaz, having seen at Damascus an Assyrian altar that pleased him better, he sent it to Jerusalem, commanding that it should be substituted for the old brazen altar, which is not again mentioned even in the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah. It is not included in the catalogue of sacred erections and utensils destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar during his usurpation, or enumerated among the articles carried into Babylon.

It is not the brazen altar, however, that any longer concerns us, but the immovable stone on which it stood. Doubtless that rested firm, while devastation and fire involved the surrounding buildings in the great destruction which closed for a season the Jewish polity. Then the observances of the Temple service ceased, and there remained neither altar, priest, nor sacrifice. All who escaped the sword were carried

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as captives into Babylon, and Jerusalem lay desolate to fulfil the period foretold by the prophet, of threescore and ten years. Es-Sukhra no longer ministered to Hebrew piety; and two generations of men, strangers alike to the land and to its peculiar polity, trod the sacred mount.

In reference to the renovation of the Temple services, Ezra writes,* that "the children of those that had been carried away, which were come out of the captivity, offered burnt offerings." They built an altar even before they had laid the foundations of the new temple, and thereon, morning and evening, offered sacrifice. Of the spot on which the altar was placed, we are uninformed, but we may readily conjecture that it would be reared on some portion of the elevated enclosure, covered now, for the most part, with brushwood, a thorny wilderness "without a plan." The precise site of the former altar, who might tell? Even those who remembered the different parts of the old Temple in their youth could hardly, after seventy years, discover, amidst heaps of rubbish, the spot on which it rested.

Solomon's Temple was of rectangular form; so were the temples of Ezra and Herod. In proceeding to the work of restoration, Ezra laid down his measuring rod from a given point, and included as much space as in the circumstances was needful. He constructed such an edifice as the grants of his Babylonish master and the condition of his impoverished fellow-countrymen enabled him to rear. The character of the altar and its position are not mentioned. There is certainly no ground for connecting the altar of the second Temple with the stone Es-Sukhra. Ezra was not ambitious of restoring the first Temple in all its essentials or in all its vastness. He simply sought to renew the Temple worship, and to provide suitable means for its observance. The restored altar would then most probably be placed in a portion of the Sanctuary where it could be readily resorted to, without any reference to what had been Araunah's threshing-floor. Dr Fergusson, the celebrated architectural

* Ezra viii. 35.

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writer, formerly quoted, published in 1847 an Essay to prove that, from the measurements and other details given by Josephus, the second Temple did not attain to the dimensions of the first, and that although it must have stood within the limits of the existing "Haran," it could not have occupied more than 600 square feet of the contained space. Measuring from the only right angle that was common to all the structures upon Moriah, and still remained at the S.W. corner, Dr Fergusson concludes Es-Sukhra must have been altogether exterior to the building of the second Temple.

During the centuries which intervened between the return of the Jews from Babylon and the advent of Messiah, a decided change must have occurred in the appearance of Mount Moriah. A large portion of the site of Solomon's Temple was covered with a suburb called Bezetha. Here were situated the governor's palace, the hall of judgment, and other buildings constructed by the Romans. Here were also the dwellings of numerous traders from different countries, who were more or less strangers to the Mosaic economy. Here stood the Golden Gate leading to the upper town from the Mount of Olives, and, as we conceive, denoting the route by which Christ entered Jerusalem in His triumph, and along which He journeyed after His Passion at Gethsemane.

At the north side of the Temple, on a steep rock, fifteen cubits high, stood a tower called Barris, a place where the high priests laid up their sacred vestments. Herod, seeing that the place commanded the city, erected at the spot the castle of Antonia, in which was stationed a Roman garrison. Between the back of the castle and the Golden Gate rested Es-Sukhra. With its history we proceed to associate another great event. After partaking of the Pascal feast with His disciples, Christ went, as was His custom, to the Mount of Olives. Crossing the brook Kedron, He entered the Garden of Gethsemane outside the Golden Gate, eastward of the Temple. There, through the treachery of Judas, He was apprehended by the Jewish authorities and carried before the Roman governor in the castle of Antonia. After His

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condemnation by Pilate, and His mockery in the Prætorium by the governor's soldiers, He was led to the place of crucifixion. This place is designated by Matthew and Mark "the place of Golgotha, that is to say, the place of a skull." Luke describes it as "the place called a skull," and John the evangelist as "a place called the place of a skull, which is called in the Hebrew Golgotha."

Where was Golgotha? We are not to look for it by the way of *Via Dolorosa*. In a locality remote from the place of judgment it certainly was not. The Romans were unlikely, even out of respect to Jewish prejudices, to conduct those sentenced to die as slaves, by any formal and lengthened procession to the place of doom. It is more than probable that they would rear their crosses on the very nearest suitable spot. Christ was condemned at nine A.M., and suspended on the cross at noon. There was time only for constructing the crosses of the condemned Saviour and of the two who were to suffer with Him, and for fixing them up. We know, at least in the case of our Lord, that His cross was not erected in anticipation of His death, for He was compelled to bear it.

Golgotha, the evangelical writers are particular in informing us, signifies the place of a skull. Let us look to the position of Es-Sukhra. On entering from the side of the country, either by the Golden Gate or the Gate of St Stephen, we find ourselves looking along the back of the high wall of the Temple enclosure towards the castle of Antonia. This building must be sufficiently lofty to command the interior of the Temple court, the purpose for which it was erected. In the line of vision is a round knoll, destitute of verdure, and presenting an aperture. This, being bald, hollow, and pierced, may have been named "the skull," or Golgotha. The open-ground surrounding it, was doubtless the resort of idlers basking themselves as in hot countries, while the chamber beneath the aperture may have been used as a depository of working tools or military utensils. Need we go further for the place of our Lord's crucifixion. The spot was near the judgment-

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hall, in face of the common entrance into the town and Temple, and where there was room for the three crosses. May not the Saviour's cross have been erected above Es-Sukhra, the socket being placed in the very opening of that stone of sacrifice—His sacred blood thus trickling through the channel where that of "thousands of rams" flowed in the stream of Temple sacrifice?

"The place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city,"* writes the evangelist John. The apostle Paul informs us that Christ suffered "without the gate."† These descriptions are fulfilled by fixing Golgotha at the stone Es-Sukhra. It was nigh to, but was not within the city, and it was without the precincts of the Temple. It was in the path of the most public entrance to Jerusalem in which a Simon (Matt. xxvii. 32) might readily be picked up to bear the cross of Him who had sunk under its weight, and where those who came to mock the agonies of the dying Saviour had space enough to stand upon.

That Es-Sukhra, the great stone of sacrifice should, in the midst of unrivalled associations, have so long remained without any Christian recognition, is sufficiently remarkable. If the platform of the Mosque of Omar were accessible, something more definite might be written concerning it; but as yet, with the single exception of Ali Bey, no European has been allowed to survey the cave's interior, or even the exterior aspects of the rock itself. On Imperial authority, Captain Warren was proceeding to dig about and inspect the Holy Stone, but before he could accomplish the work he was forbidden to examine the hidden portion of this sanctuary, and his every effort to obtain a renewal of permission has hitherto failed. Thus, an unformed block of limestone, which for centuries stood in the common path of the Israelitish people without particular observation has, in the hands of the unbeliever, become an object of such exclusive sanctity that it is not allowed to be touched. From the days of Saladin to the time of Ali Bey, the stone was unknown; it was

* John xix. 20. † Heb. xiii. 12.

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not, therefore, included in "The Holy Places" of the Romish Church.

We pass, as unworthy of any serious consideration, the various spots in connection with our Lord's sufferings and death which have been pronounced sacred by Romish tradition. Dr Fergusson, formerly quoted, maintains that Es-Sukhra is the place of our Lord's sepulchre. Such an opinion is untenable. Those who have passed into the cave unite in relating that there is an adit of some kind in its centre, covered with a marble slab, which when struck produces a hollow sound. This, it is reasonable to believe, formed the mouth of the great drain from the altar of sacrifice, leading down into the valley of Hinnom. A place so constituted does not realise the evangelist's description of our Lord's sepulchre—that of a "new tomb wherein never man yet lay."

The early Christians were not concerned in preserving the spot of the death of their great Master. Their mission was to spread abroad the *doctrines* of their faith. Jerusalem was in the hands of two sets of enemies—the Jews and the Romans, neither of whom would have permitted any sacred enclosure of the spot where Jesus suffered. Forty years after the crucifixion, Jerusalem was destroyed, and, as expressly commanded in the prophetic words of their Master, the disciples fled for personal safety. In A.D. 136 the Emperor Hadrian, with the design of blotting out the memory of Jerusalem, began to construct a new city, to which he gave the name of *Ælia*. He passed the ploughshare over the foundations of the Temple, and prohibited the Jews under pain of death, from visiting the ruins of their ancient capital. During the middle of the fourth century the Jews obtained permission to return, and there, once a-year, under the walls of the Temple, they mourned the national reverses. In A.D. 326, the Empress Helena and her son, Constantine the Great, visited Jerusalem. Constantine swept away many heathen edifices, and in their stead reared Christian churches. He constructed, as we have seen, that building which, with Oriental additions and decorations, now constitutes the

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Mosque of Omar. As this spot was reverenced by the Jews, who annually anointed it, Constantine might probably have regarded it as the place of the sepulchre; but there is no tittle of evidence that he did so, and assuredly there is no reason to suppose that it was the place of crucifixion. The Jews who anointed the spot were attached to their ancient faith, and could have no interest in celebrating a spot associated with the memory of Him they slew. Memories of the ancient Temple, and of Abraham's sacrifice, had, it is to be presumed, evoked their veneration.

The Bordeaux Pilgrim, writing A.D. 333, remarks that he saw two equestrian statues which had been erected by Hadrian, standing within the sanctuary. Not far from these, he remarks, stood a pierced rock. Can we doubt that he refers to Es-Sukhra.

In A.D. 614, Jerusalem was besieged by a Persian army and destroyed and sacked. The church reared by Constantine over Es-Sukhra was partially burned. In 637 it was surrendered to the Caliph Omar, who converted it into a Mahommedan mosque.

From the time of the Caliph Omar to A.D. 1099, Jerusalem was under the dominion of the Saracens. The crescent had supplanted the cross, and native Christians groaned under a bondage more intolerable than any they had heretofore experienced. Still, pilgrims flocked to Jerusalem in crowds to pay their adorations at the holy places. Among these (in A.D. 1094), came the celebrated Peter the Hermit. His sympathies were awakened by the sufferings of the Church, and his indignation aroused by the tyranny of its oppressors. Having sought an interview with the Patriarch, he besought him to write to the Sovereign Pontiff and to the kings and princes of the West, while he personally undertook to make known throughout Europe the facts which he had witnessed. His expostulations, backed by the influence of Pope Urban II., aroused the Western continent, and Europe soon shook with warlike preparations. The Crusaders sat down under the walls of Jerusalem on 7th June 1099.

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Jerusalem was wrested from the Moslem, and for forty-eight years Palestine remained in the hands of the Christians. In 1187 Jerusalem was retaken by Saladin, and the Holy Stone has ever since been in possession of the Mahommedans. They call it Moriache; and no Christian is allowed to enter the sacred structure by which it is enclosed. Thus, from the time of Abraham has Es-Sukhra been regarded as holy ground.

One observation before we close. The place of Moses' sepulchre was concealed from his countrymen, lest in honouring the spot, they should forget Jehovah. In like manner has Es-Sukhra long been locked up, that its sacred precincts might not be profaned by the idolatrous rites of superstition. Superstition is on the wane, and Christian faith may ere long be helped and strengthened at the rock Es-Sukhra.

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LIFE AND NAVAL CAREER OF ADMIRAL SIR RICHARD J. STRACHAN, BARONET, G.C.B.

BY THOMAS A. WISE, M.D., F.S.A. Scot., Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

THE duties required of a captain of the navy during the Continental war, at the beginning of the present century, were peculiarly difficult. They often involved questions of great national importance, which required intelligence, judgment, and energy, not always united in the same person. On the possessors of such qualities we look back with pride and satisfaction, as to them we owe our high position among the nations. Similar occasions may not again occur for developing such qualities. International and maritime law is now more correctly defined, and the same scope is not given to commanders of iron-clads, as to those who commanded wooden ships. The latter depended on their sailing qualities and power of manœuvring; the former have only to find out the weak parts of their antagonists, and by the weight of artillery to send their opponents to the bottom. But while these changes in ships have taken place, the race of seamen continues the same. The like courage remains, ready to fight the country's battles and to gain victories, as in former days, when the sailor was prepared to undergo every hardship, and with calmness and sagacity to take advantage of every passing event for maintaining the national glory.

On the east coast of Scotland, from the Border northwards, the able seaman of the last century was often to be found. From his Scandinavian ancestors he inherited that love of adventure, whose lullaby was the murmur of the deep. Over a wide district inland the rebellious spirit in the nursery was subdued by a threat "to send for the French," or by announcing the approach of Paul Jones; and in the tem-

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pestuous night the creaking of the forest and the roaring of the ocean drew forth the ejaculation, "An awful night for those at sea!" to be met by the consoling answer, "It may be fine where they are." The thoughts of the race turned naturally to the ocean.

Where hard work was to be done, Scottish seamen were to be found: they were among the boarders of the *Shannon;* and when the stately Duncan quelled the mutiny at the Nore, he was supported by gallant men from his native county. On the Scottish coast were to be found not brave sailors only, but true and honest men, who could always be relied upon. What might not such accomplish, when a Duncan led, or a Strachan dared! The achievements of Admiral Strachan have hitherto been related only in naval journals, and in a disconnected form. In the latest compendium of the "Battles of the British Navy," by Captain Allen, there are seven concise notices of actions in which he was engaged; but he has not been considered worthy of a portrait in the gallery at Greenwich, nor of a monument at Westminster or St Paul's.

The party feelings which caused injustice to a brave admiral have passed away, and we can now, without prejudice, investigate his career. His skill and daring led the Government to consider him as the most worthy successor to the brave and dashing Sir Sidney Smith; but the gallant deeds of Sir Richard in the *Diamond* were eclipsed by the long, romantic career of his predecessor. Even the important victory which Sir Richard achieved off Cape Ortegal, which at any other period would have excited the most lively satisfaction, was hardly noticed amidst the transports of joy at the stupendous victory of Trafalgar, which had occurred only a few days before: it was looked upon merely as the taking of the four line of battle ships which had escaped, to complete the most glorious naval victory ever achieved by Britain. His last public employment, the command of the fleet sent on the Walcheren expedition, proved the culminating point of his bad fortune; and although a Parliamentary investigation

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proved that the failure of the expedition was solely due to the incapacity of the general, who commanded the land forces, the admiral has still been associated with the disaster. He died nearly half a century ago, and a kinsman now seeks to render justice to his memory.

The Strachans of Thornton were long distinguished in the navy. Captain John Strachan had a son who entered the navy, and who, when on leave, gave such a favourable account of a sea life to his school-fellow, John Jervis, afterwards Earl St Vincent, that he quitted school. The two boys concealed themselves on board a ship at Woolwich. After three days young Jervis returned home, but persisted in not returning to school, and soon after entered upon his naval career. Strachan also proved an able officer. On the 19th July 1757, when in command of H.M.'s privateer of 20 guns and 144 men, he attacked the *Télémaque*, a French privateer, of 20 guns and 416 men. After a gallant action, the French vessel was taken, with the loss of 110 killed and 156 wounded, there being only 14 killed and 27 wounded on the English side.

Captain Strachan died on the 28th December 1777. His nephew, Richard J. Strachan, son of Lieut. Patrick Strachan, also a distinguished naval officer, succeeded to the baronetcy of Thornton. Born in Devonshire on the 27th October 1745, he entered the navy early in life, and was at once remarked for his steadiness and intelligence. His first appointment was to the *Actæon*. After the usual period of service he became third lieutenant of the *Hero*, 74 guns, one of Commodore Johnston's squadron, which sailed from England to protect the outward-bound Indiamen. On board the fleet were 3000 troops, destined for an attack upon the Dutch settlements at the Cape. The squadron consisted of the *Hero*, and three 50-gun ships, with three frigates, and eight small vessels. Sailing from Spithead on the 14th of March 1781, they were, when some time at sea, pursued by a powerful French fleet under the command of Admiral de Suffrein, but escaped to the Cape Verd Islands. When in Porto Praya, the French fleet unexpectedly entered the bay, and commenced an attack,

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and from their great superiority of force they might have destroyed the entire squadron. Fortunately, they advanced without order, firing at random among the English ships. The fire from the English men-of-war was so much better directed that Admiral de Suffrein was obliged to cut his cable and stand out to sea, followed by the rest of his fleet, taking with them the *Fortunate* and *Hinchinbrook* Indiamen. These were recaptured next day. The *Infernal* having put to sea was captured by the enemy, but on the approach of the squadron was abandoned. The *Hannibal*, one of the enemy's ships, of 74 guns, remained longer than the others in the bay, and being exposed to the fire of the entire British fleet, was reduced to a complete wreck. In this state her cable was cut, and she was allowed to drift out of the bay. Next day Commodore Johnston pursued the enemy until the evening, when, fearing his being drawn too far to the leeward, he returned to Porto Praya. There he appears to have remained so long, that on his arrival at the Cape he found the French admiral had reached False Bay before him, and had landed a body of troops, which, in the commodore's opinion, placed the colony in a state of security, defeating the object of the expedition. He learned that several Dutch East Indiamen were in Saldanha Bay. On the appearance of the British squadron, the enemy ran their vessels on shore, and set fire to them; yet by the activity of their assailants, four ships from 1000 to 1100 tons each were saved from the flames. The commodore, with part of his squadron, returned to England, leaving the remainder to protect the merchantmen proceeding to India.

Richard Strachan became first lieutenant of the *Magnanime*, of 64 guns, from which he removed to the *Superb*, 74 guns, bearing the flag of Sir Richard Hughes, by whom he was in 1782 made a commander in the *Lizard* cutter at Bombay. In 1783 he was promoted to the *Naiade* frigate, captured from the French. At the close of the American war, he obtained the command of the *Vesta*, 28 guns, on board of which he received the brother of the tenth Baron Cathcart, bound on

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an embassy to the Emperor of China. The ambassador was in a feeble state of health when he embarked at Portsmouth, and continued to get worse until the ship arrived in the Straits of Banca, when he died. Commander Strachan afterwards conveyed General Meadows with reinforcements to Bombay. In command of the *Phœnix*, 36-gun frigate, he distinguished himself by his activity in protecting British trade, which otherwise would have suffered from interlopers under neutral flags. This duty became more arduous when we were at peace with France, and at war with their ally, the powerful Tippoo Sultan, who received from the French important aid.

In November 1792, the British commodore detached the *Phœnix* and *Perseverance* to search the vessels for contraband of war. Off Malabar, Strachan fell in with the *Résolue*, a French 36-gun frigate, in company with two country coasting-vessels, proceeding to Mangalore, the principal seaport of Tippoo Sultan. The French captain would not allow Strachan to examine the vessels, but he persisted. An action ensued, which was obstinately maintained on both sides, until the *Phœnix* had 6 men killed and 11 wounded, and the *Résolue* 25 killed and 40 wounded. The French vessel then struck her colours, and Sir Richard performed his original intention of examining the vessels; the result, however, did not justify their detention. The commander of the *Résolue* insisted on his ship being taken possession of, which was refused. He then towed her into the French settlement of Mahé. Mons. St Felix, commodore of the French squadron in the east, wrote to the British commodore in the Indian seas regarding the right of searching neutral vessels, and the correspondence was submitted to the French Government, but the disturbed state of the French nation induced them to drop the subject.

Soon afterwards, Captain Strachan returned to England; and on war breaking out with the French Republic, he was appointed to the *Concord*, 42 guns, in which he joined a squadron employed on the coast of France, under command of Sir John Warren. The squadron consisted of

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the *Flora*, *Arethusa*, *Concord*, *Melampus*, and *Nymphe*. Being to the westward of Guernsey, on the morning of the 23d April, four sail were observed standing out to sea, which were soon found to be French ships of war. The *Flora* and the *Arethusa* attacked the *Pomone* of 44 guns and 341 men, and the *Babel* of 22 guns and 178 men. Both the French ships struck, after a battle waged for three hours. The other English frigates pursued the remainder of the French squadron. Strachan, in the *Concord*, succeeded in coming up with a retreating frigate, which he endeavoured to disable, with the intention of leaving her to be picked up by the *Melampus* and *Nymphe*. In his intention he was disappointed, for his old antagonist the *Résolue* gallantly bore down to support her consort; and having taken up a position across the *Concord's* bow, severely damaged her rigging and sails. Strachan fought both vessels with his usual gallantry, but finding the day advancing, and his main-topmast being badly injured, he resolved to secure the ship which was nearest him. To accomplish this, he backed his sails, and in the smoke dropping astern, led his antagonists unwittingly to fire into each other. He then ranged upon the starboard side. The *Résolue* was unable to assist her consort; made sail and escaped. The engagement continued from noon till nearly two o'clock, when the French frigate ceased firing, and being unmanageable, hailed a surrender. The prize was the *Engageante*, 38 guns, with 300 men, of whom forty were killed or wounded. The *Concord* had only one man killed, and twelve wounded. It is pleasing to remark the cordiality with which Captain Strachan celebrates the meritorious conduct of the officers and ship's company. "I had an opportunity," he writes, "of observing the spirit of enterprise of my first lieutenant, and have pleasure in acknowledging his great assistance to me during the engagement; also in remarking the good conduct of the two lieutenants who commanded on the main deck, and of the crew in general."

The judicious and enterprising character of Captain Sir Richard Strachan being now appreciated, he was selected for

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a separate command on the coast of France in the *Melampus*, 42 guns; Sir Sidney Smith being employed in similar duties. Both Commanders were on the alert, and ready to attack the enemy; and whenever a hostile ship was bold enough to put to sea, she was pursued.

On the 9th of May 1795, while at anchor in Yournville Bay, Isle of Jersey, the two British commanders descried thirteen of the enemy's vessels laden with ship timber, gunpowder, cordage, and other naval stores, escorted by an armed brig and lugger running along shore. The British squadron weighed and gave chase. A small battery was soon silenced, and twelve vessels, abandoned by their crews, were captured. One escaped round Cape Cateret. In performing this service, the *Melampus* had eight men wounded. The loss on board the other British ships amounted to two killed and nine wounded.

On the 3d of July, the *Melampus*, in company with the *Hebe*, captured off St Maloes six, of thirteen French vessels laden with stores, convoyed by a ship of 26 guns, two brigs, and a lugger. Another brig of four 24-pounders and sixty men was also taken.

Sir Richard Strachan and Sir Sidney Smith continued together until April 1796, when the latter, being on a reconnoitering expedition off Havre with the boats of his frigate, captured a French lugger, which, by the strong setting of the tide into the harbour, was drawn a considerable way up the Seine above the forts. In this situation, Sir Sidney remained during the night. At dawn, the lugger being discovered in tow of English boats, a signal was given. Several gun-boats, and other armed vessels, attacked the boats. Another lugger of superior force was warped out against that which Sir Sidney had captured, so as to render further resistance impossible. With four men killed and seven wounded, Sir Sidney was obliged to surrender himself a prisoner of war, with nineteen others. He was confined in the Tower of the Temple at Paris, from which, after two years, he effected his escape.

Sir Richard, as successor to Sir Sidney, was appointed

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to the command of the *Diamond* frigate, in which he continued for nearly three years, evincing great intrepidity and promptitude in destroying and capturing coasters. In 1799, he was promoted to the *Captain*, 74 guns. In this ship he distinguished himself in the squadron under the command of Admiral Markham in capturing five French men-of-war, —*La Junon*, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Perée, with 40 guns and 400 men; *l'Alceste*, 36 guns and 300 men; *le Courageux*, 22 guns and 300 men; *la Salarnun*, 18 guns, and *l'Alerte*, 14 guns, each carrying 120 men.

In 1800 the *Captain* formed one of the squadron under Sir Edward Pellew, consisting of seven ships of the line—one of 50 guns—nine frigates, a sloop of war, and a cutter, having on board a detachment of troops under the command of Major-General Maitland. These were intended to co-operate with the French Royalists and Chouans in Quiberon Bay and the Morbihan. The Royalists were found to be less numerous than had been represented. The forts in the south-west end of Quiberon were soon silenced and destroyed, and several vessels were cut off and captured.

In July of the same year a secret expedition was fitted out under the command of Sir James Pulteney. It consisted of 8,000 men, escorted by the squadron of Sir J. B. Warren, including the *Captain*, commanded by Sir Richard. They first appeared off Belleisle, but were prevented landing by the strength of the works. They sailed to Ferrol, and after silencing the batteries, landed in the neighbourhood, defeated the Spaniards in two skirmishes, and took possession of the heights which overlooked the harbour. Every step indicated the speedy reduction of the fortress, with the fleet which it protected, when the General was intimidated by a rumour that the enemy had received large reinforcements, and retired from his position. By the admirable arrangements of Sir Richard, the troops were re-embarked with order before daybreak, and joined General Abercromby in his descent on Alexandria, while the squadron proceeded to Gibraltar. Sir Richard received the thanks of the Commander-in-Chief, with an

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expression of entire approbation of his conduct during the expedition.

Sir Richard was afterwards employed in command of a small squadron on the west coast of France, where he distinguished himself by crippling the enemy's trade, cutting off their supplies, and keeping in check their small armed vessels, which had inflicted much injury on English commerce.

During the suspension of hostilities that followed the treaty of Amiens, Sir Richard was advanced to the command of the *Donegal*, eighty guns; and on the renewal of the war, being employed off Cadiz, he chased the *Amphitrite*, a Spanish ship of war, which he overtook. He acquainted the Spanish captain that in consequence of the attitude which Spain had assumed, he was under the necessity of conducting the *Amphitrite* back to Cadiz, allowing him three minutes to determine whether he would comply. After waiting six minutes, Sir Richard gave orders to fire. He was answered by a broadside; but the engagement lasted only eight minutes, when the *Amphitrite* struck her colours. The Spanish commander was killed. Soon after the *Donegal* captured another Spanish ship with a cargo worth £200,000.

In March 1802, Sir Richard's affairs required his presence in England, and he exchanged into the *Renown*, which, on account of her bad condition, had to be sent home. Soon after he was nominated a Colonel of Marines, and in July 1805, was appointed to the *Cæsar*, of eighty guns, and intrusted with the command of a detached squadron, consisting of the *Hero*, *Namur*, and *Courageux*, 74's, the *Santa Margarita*, 36, and the *Æolus*, 32 gun frigates. On the evening of the 2d November, being off Ferrol, he fell in with four of the French line-of-battle ships that had escaped from the battle of Trafalgar, and immediately bore down upon them. They were the *Formidable*, 80 guns, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Dumanoir le Pelley, and the *Duguay-Trouin*, *Mont Blanc*, and *Scorpion* of 70 guns. These four ships, with a fifth, had formed the van of the combined fleet which met with such

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a signal defeat off Trafalgar, but had borne no part in the action in consequence of the English fleet having attacked the centre of their line. Towards the afternoon this squadron succeeded in hauling to the light air of wind on the starboard tack; and at three o'clock exchanged broadsides with the *Orion*, *Ajax*, *Britannia*, and *Agamemnon*, as they were advancing into action. But the French commander saw that the battle was against him, and so made way to the south, opening fire on the British ships and their prizes indiscriminately.

The French ships, little damaged, steered to the south-west, and during the night hauled to the north, intending to seek safety in the harbours of Rochefort or Brest. On the 2d November, being off Cape Finisterre, the squadron discovered and chased the *Phœnix*, a British 36 gun-frigate. She bore up, steering for Ferrol, and fell in with the British squadron, commanded by Sir Richard Strachan. He gave chase, and on the morning of the fourth day, came up with the hostile armament. Finding an action inevitable, the French squadron took in their small sails, and hauled up together on the starboard tack, under topsails and topgallant sails, courses clewed up, with their heads to the NE. and E.; the wind being about south-west by south.

The *Cæsar* attacked the *Formidable*, assisted by the *Duguay-Trouin;* the *Hero* and *Courageux* attacked the *Mont Blanc* and the *Scorpion;* while the *Namur* was ten miles astern. A spirited action ensued.

At 12.50, when Sir Richard made signal for close action, the *Duguay-Trouin* luffed up to rake the *Cæsar* a-head. Perceiving the movement, Sir Richard luffed up also, and the *Duguay-Trouin* passed to leeward, within musket shot of the *Cæsar* and *Hero*, from each of which she received a destructive fire. At 1.40, the *Cæsar* made the signal for the *Namur* to engage the enemy's van; but though endeavouring under all sail to get into action, her progress was extremely slow. This period of the action is illustrated by the following diagram. The *Hero* was now ordered from her position to lead on the port tack, followed at

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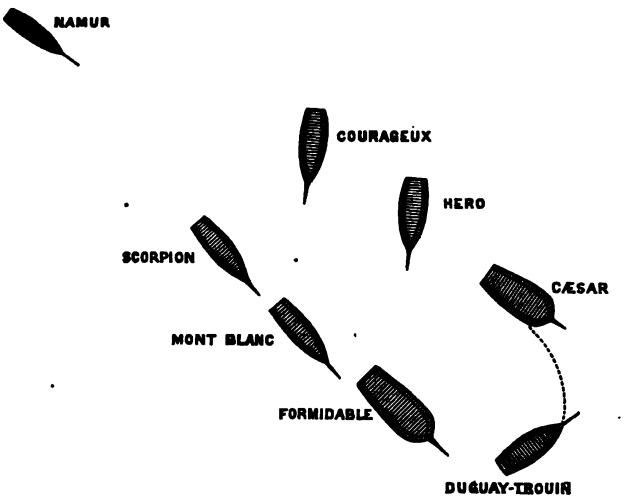
some distance by the *Courageux*, and at a still greater distance by the *Cæsar*, which was much cut up in her sails and rigging by her two antagonists. As the ships edged away towards the French squadron, at two o'clock, the *Hero* fired her starboard guns at the *Scorpion*, which having lost her main-topmast, fell to the port, and became engaged with the *Courageux*, assisted by the *Phœnix* and *Révolutionnaire* frigates. The *Hero*, making sail, gained a position on the weather bow of the *Formidable*, and had occasionally an



opportunity of raking the *Mont Blanc* and the *Duguay-Trouin*. At this time (2.45), the *Namur* reached the *Formidable*, when the *Hero* made sail after the *Mont Blanc*, and at 3.5 the *Cæsar*, having repaired her damage, was in the act of reopening her fire on the *Formidable*, when that ship, having lost her mizen-topmast, her mainmast, and fore-topmast, hauled down her colours. At 3.10, the *Duguay-Trouin* and the *Mont Blanc* bore up, and endeavoured to form a line a-head of the *Scorpion*, but this ship, by the united fire of the *Courageux* and the frigates, lost her main and mizen-mast, and fore-topmast, hauled down

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her colours, and surrendered. The *Duguay-Trouin* and *Mont Blanc* endeavoured to escape, but were overtaken by the *Cæsar* and *Hero*, and after a close and well-maintained cannonade of twenty minutes, surrendered at 3.35 P.M. The loss on board the British ships was slight, considering the length and closeness of the action. There were 24 killed and 111 wounded; while on board the French ships were 730 killed and wounded.*

Sir Richard conducted his four well-earned prizes to Plymouth, and they were added to the British navy. Five days afterwards he was advanced to the post of Rear-Admiral, and with his officers and men received the thanks of Parliament. Gold medals were given to the captains, and the first lieutenants of the line-of-battle ships were made commanders. The Patriotic Fund presented to each of the seven commanders a sword of the value of one hundred guineas, and gave Sir Richard a vase which cost three hundred guineas. He was voted a sword and the freedom of the city, by the Corporation of London. On the 29th January 1806, he was nominated G.C.B.

Soon after the battle of Ortegal, Sir Richard hoisted his flag on board the *Cæsar*, and the squadron proceeded to the coast of America, in pursuit of a French squadron commanded by Admiral Villeneuve. One of the French ships, the *Castor*, 74 guns, foundered in a hurricane, and another, the *Impétueux*, of the same force, when standing in for the Chesapeake was discovered, driven on shore and burnt, and the crew made prisoners. Two other 74's were destroyed on the same day. Sir Richard was afterwards employed in the blockade of Rochefort until the summer of 1809, when he returned home.

The great naval expedition to the Scheldt was entrusted to Sir Richard Strachan; and the military force, to the surprise of every one, was placed under the command of the Earl of Chatham. The conduct of this expedition so deeply concerns the professional reputation of the admiral, that it is necessary to enter into details.

At Antwerp, and on the noble river which passes it, Napoleon

* Victoires et Conquêtes, tome xvi. p. 195.

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had expended £2,640,000 in constructing immense arsenals and dockyards, with the object of invading England and destroying its supremacy on the ocean; and he afterwards informed Les Cases, that he contemplated a much larger expenditure. He intended it as a point from whence fleets were to be launched against the enemy, and by land, as a place of refuge in case of disaster. A military town and docks were to have been erected on the opposite bank of the Scheldt, and land was already purchased for their construction. There three-deckers were to have been repaired with all their guns on board, during the winter months, under the shelter of large sheds.

At the commencement of the contest of France and Germany, the Cabinet of Vienna made the most urgent representations to the British Government on the subject of aiding them by landing an army on the North of Germany or Holland; and successive administrations had deliberated on making an attempt to destroy the naval stations on the Scheldt. Lord Nelson had it in contemplation, and other experienced naval and military officers had been consulted on its practicability and policy. It was felt that England should make a sudden attack on Antwerp, in order to destroy the dockyards and fortifications before they were completed. Half the bastions were known to be unarmed, the ditches were dry, and in some places filled up; two old breaches were unrepaired, and the garrison consisted only of 2500 invalids and coastguards. The island of Walcheren was imperfectly defended, and Flushing had a garrison of 3000 troops, quite inadequate for its defence. At Antwerp there were ten sail of the line, four frigates, and forty or fifty gunboats, in different stages of construction, with means to secure, at no distant period, an extension in the number of ships, and a solidity in point of defence, which would render it, as a maritime power, not only extremely formidable, but almost invulnernable.

Austria, the faithful ally of England, having declared war against France in November 1808, several experienced naval and military officers were consulted on the propriety of a

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British expedition to the Scheldt. Sir Richard Strachan's opinion was not favourable. Other experienced officers were more hopeful of the result. To understand the reason of the discrepancy of sentiment, it is necessary to consider the political condition of Europe at the end of the year 1809, Napoleon being then master of the Continent, which he ruled with an authority almost resistless.

After careful consideration, the British Cabinet resolved to send an expedition to Walcheren against the French on the Scheldt. Had this resolution been carried out promptly and energetically, its success would have weakened the attack of the French on Austria, destroyed the centre of the French maritime operations, and stopped the much dreaded crusade against Britain. Secret preparations were made to equip a fleet and an army, but their extent prevented their being ready in time to stop the French advance on Austria; and before the fleet sailed in the end of July, the Austrians had been defeated. By this delay the healthy months had passed and the sickly season had commenced before the army reached Walcheren—one of the most unhealthy of European climates.

From the time of his appointment, Sir Richard was not very hopeful, probably owing to the character of his colleague. He said to Lord Mulgrave, one of the ministers—"I think all we will do will be to take possession of Walcheren,"—a remark to which his lordship answered, that the country would not be satisfied with such an expensive armament doing nothing more. Sir Richard remarked—"I am fearful it will turn out so;" and added—"for my part, I know nothing of the navigation of the Scheldt; but I will do my best to accomplish all the objects of the expedition, and I shall be ready to serve under any officer the government has more confidence in than myself." Lord Mulgrave observed, "that he had the fullest confidence in him, and had reason to think he would do well." With such modest expectations of success, Sir Richard took command of the naval expedition, having the assistance of Admiral Popham, who knew the navigation of the Scheldt.

From great court influence, the Earl of Chatham was ap-

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pointed to the command of the land forces. Old, indolent, and inexperienced, and without decision of character, he was entirely incompetent for the highly responsible duties with which he was entrusted. Besides, the expedition proceeded to a most unhealthy climate without attending to the precautions recommended by the medical department against the inroads of disease.

The fleet sailed on the 28th July 1809, and on reaching the coast of Holland was encountered by a violent gale and heavy sea, which prevented the landing at Cadsand. Taking shelter in the roadstead of Room Pop, 20,000 men were disembarked without opposition at Bree Sand in the Island of Walcheren, and took possession of Middleburg, where Lord Chatham established his residence. There the troops, at the commencement of the sickly season, were kept inactive while exposed to the unhealthy climate, and to the use of unwholesome food.

General Sir John Hope, in command of a division, obliged the governor of forts Fehterbeer and Goes to surrender, and in a couple of days the important forts of Bathz and Santoliet capitulated, and Flushing was invested.

Sir Richard, disregarding the fire of the Flushing batteries, passed the straits, and took possession of both branches of the Scheldt. Fort Bathz was the key of the inner channel, five leagues from Antwerp; and by proceeding along the left bank of the river Scheldt, and occupying the Tête de Flandre, opposite to Antwerp, scarcely any resistance would have been offered, and the object of the expedition would have been obtained. Lord Lowther was present at a meeting of council at which Sir Richard entreated Lord Chatham to mask Flushing with 10,000 men, and he would get round the island, either by the west or east branch of the Scheldt, and land the rest of the army, numbering 25,000 men, near Antwerp; but Lord Chatham said, drawlingly, "We had better wait." * It was afterwards proved that 20,000 men and 4000 horses might have been landed from Slough in forty-eight

* "Memoirs of R. P. Ward," by the Hon. Ed. Phipps, vol. i. p. 275.

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hours, and that cavalry and ordnance horses might easily have performed the march from Slough to Bathz in thirty-six hours—the distance being about thirty-five miles.

As leader of the army, Lord Chatham had no comprehensive plan of procedure. Commissariat arrangements were entirely neglected; and though the heads of the medical department drew up an admirable code of hygienic rules that would have saved thousands of lives, no heed was paid to it by the General. The object was to march on to Antwerp, operating on both banks of the Scheldt; so as, with the assistance of the fleet, to capture the forts of Lillo and Lufkenshoesk, force the boom and chain which secured the river, and thereby open a field for future operations. In his letter to the Admiralty, dated the 27th of August, Sir Richard wrote, "we are desirous to go on." Subsequently, as he stated on the "Enquiry," when he saw his letter in the papers, it struck him that it might be the means of making a breach between the two services, and then he expressed his regret that he had worded the letter in that manner. At the same time, he observed to Lord Chatham, and to other officers, that his first communication was "only a statement of facts." He added, "I could not help regretting, and I do at this moment regret most sincerely, that having been wrought up as we were to the point of attack upon the enemy, and having worked our people up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, we should have been under the necessity of retiring."

After consideration, Lord Chatham resolved to reduce Flushing before advancing on Antwerp, whereas, if he had reduced the latter in its defenceless state, the object of the expedition would have been accomplished. The fortifications of Flushing were strong, and defended by a garrison of three thousand soldiers. The siege was begun on the land side. The garrison were driven into their works with considerable loss, several sallies were repulsed, and trenches were dug. On the batteries being opened, Sir Richard led eight sail of the line, and bomb-vessels, against the fortifi-

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cations, and kept up a vigorous cannonade. The enemy's guns were silenced, the sea defences wrecked, the town set on fire in different places, and a lodgment being made by the troops, the enemy capitulated. French officers, who had been present at Austerlitz and Jena, declared, after the surrender, "*que la cannonade*" in these battles was a mere "*jeu d'enfans*" in comparison to the terrible cannonade from the ships. The possession of this fortification was useless as an offensive position, and otherwise improper, as it defeated the great object of capturing the French ships of war, and destroying the arsenals and dockyards, which it had been proposed to accomplish before the enemy could concentrate their troops and place their fortifications in a state of defence.

Even after the taking of Flushing, the Admiral again offered to make an attempt upon Antwerp, but the General prohibited the enterprise. He resolved to form a depot at Fort Bathz. This absurd resolution, alike injurious to the health of the troops and otherwise embarrassing, called forth the remonstrance of the admiral, but without avail. Lord Chatham was obstinate, and Sir Richard, with infinite trouble and at a considerable delay, was obliged to convey all the material of the army in a fleet of 400 transports, besides frigates, sloops, and flotilla, through a long, intricate, and very difficult channel of the Scheldt, against often strong adverse winds that required warping. By great skill and arduous exertion, the transport was completed on the 25th of August.

At this time, 15,000 men were in the hospitals of Flushing and Middleburgh, labouring under the dreadful fever which, in the autumnal months, desolates the level and marshy flats. The insalubrity of the water, the dampness of the houses, the immoderate use of unripe fruit, and exposure to night air, united in producing remittent and typhoid fevers, which generally proved fatal, and always left the patient weak with fatal diseases of the internal organs. This sickness had been much increased by the inactivity of the troops, and their exposure in the unhealthy plains during the siege of Flushing.

The cause of this general sickness was sufficiently evident

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from the island of Walcheren having been formed of the deposits from the Rhine and other rivers. It was flat and under the level of the sea at high water. Dikes surrounded the island, and prevented the invasion of the sea, but did not check the general and most unwholesome humidity. The rich and moist soil was divided into fields by large open ditches, which were filled with stagnant water, charged with brackish water and vegetable matter. To the diseases so engendered, foreigners were especially liable. The hospitals were soon filled, and these were so ill-ventilated, that fevers took on a contagious typhoid type, complicated with dysentery.

If proper precautions had been employed for cleaning the ditches and covering the drains, in housing the soldiers in floating barracks, or in healthy localities, and in affording the men more generous diet, with a moderate supply of tobacco and spirits, the mortality would have been much diminished. Such precautions were the more necessary, as it was proposed to keep possession of Walcheren for a time, in order to divert French troops from Austria; and as it was a strong position, commanding the navigation of the Scheldt.

Alarmed by the condition of the expedition, the Home Government dispatched Sir Gilbert Blane, an experienced physician, to ascertain the cause of the mortality. He arrived in Walcheren on the 30th September, and found two-thirds of the army unfit for duty, with a mortality averaging 250 per week.

A grave error had been committed by placing the fleet and the army under separate commands. The activity of the admiral was negatived by the inveterate sloth and incapacity of the general. While the latter was contending with an unwholesome climate, and was wholly inactive, the naval part of the expedition remained healthy; and this explains the importance of Napoleon's directions, "to cut the dikes so as to lay the Island of Walcheren, and other places the enemy will occupy, under water; and with stagnant ditches and the unhealthy season, leave them. As our men are not soldiers,

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avoid coming to blows." The authorities of France and Holland removed their ships of war above Antwerp, of which the fortifications were repaired and strengthened, and by the 27th August had assembled an army of 20,000 soldiers.

Lord Chatham now summoned a council of his generals, who agreed that nothing more could be done. The admiral, who was in favour of vigorous measures, was not consulted. The troops were withdrawn to the island of Walcheren, where 15,000 men were left; the remainder were embarked for England. The mortality increased from 250 to 300 a-week, till half the remaining garrison in Flushing was in hospital. In December, on the conclusion of peace between France and Austria, these troops were recalled. Nothing substantial had been accomplished, and 26,000 men were struck down with sickness, about a half of whom only recovered. The expedition involved an enormous expenditure.

The British Government did not call for any explanation regarding the conduct of the expedition. But Lord Chatham, was aroused from his apathy by the strong animadversions of the press, and resolved to justify himself. On the 15th October 1809, he prepared a statement in which he ascribed the failure of the enterprise to his naval colleague; and used the privilege of a Cabinet minister to present it privately to the King. In consequence of its glaring unfairness, the document was returned to him for rectification, and he was directed to place it, as a public document, in the hands of the Secretary of State. The memorial was published, and the admiral prepared a rejoinder. In this he properly remarked, that "to assume the privilege of conveying private insinuations to the prejudice of others, from whose knowledge they are studiously concealed, must prove utterly destructive of all mutual confidence in joint operations of the army and navy." The whole of these proceedings were without the knowledge of Lord Chatham's colleagues in the Cabinet.

It was natural that respect for the memory of Pitt, and a disinclination to abandon a colleague, should for a time render the Cabinet irresolute. Lord Lowther's opinion indeed was

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so extremely adverse to Lord Chatham, that he refused to support him, even at the risk of retiring from office. A vote of censure on Chatham was in the House of Commons carried by a majority of 221 to 188, notwithstanding the moving of the previous question on the part of the Premier, Mr Perceval; who had the difficult task of defending a colleague against what must have been his own personal conviction. The vote would have been followed up by an address, praying his Majesty to remove Chatham from his councils, but the Earl avoided it by a timely resignation of all his appointments. In the course of the debate, Mr Perceval stated, "that it appeared to him perfectly clear that not the slightest blame attached to the gallant Admiral Sir Richard Strachan, and that the delay which had taken place was solely imputable to the weather and local difficulties." Strong and emphatic as this statement was, on the part of the Prime Minister, the admiral never fully recovered his reputation. Associated as he had been in an undertaking which had grievously failed through an incapable and indolent colleague, he shared in the disgrace of one whose policy he had condemned. After the lapse of so many years, it is right the unwarrantable stain should be wiped from the pennon of a gallant seaman, and that justice should be rendered to his memory.

The character of Sir Richard was indeed worthy of admiration. In the performance of his public duty, he was scrupulously exact; arranging his plans with care, and executing them with vigour and judgment. With the careless and the lukewarm, he had no patience. During the crisis of the battle of Ortegal, when his signals were not answered by his consort, he did not hesitate, in the hour of danger, to enforce his orders by firing at her as an enemy. His conduct in the Walcheren expedition was fully investigated by a Committee of the House of Commons, which confirmed the deliverance of the Prime Minister, that his honour was unsullied. In July 1810 he received the sword and freedom of the city of London voted to him by the Corporation in 1805. On the

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31st July he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral; he became admiral in 1821. He resided at Bryanston Square, London, where he died on the 3d February 1828, at the age of eighty-three.

The surname of Strachan is derived from a portion of territory in the county of Kincardine—a parish being so called. According to Nisbet, the lands of Strachan were erected into a county palatine. He found a "Walterus comes Palatinus de Strachan," and considered it the only known instance in the kingdom. The family is of high antiquity. During the reign of Malcolm IV. (*circa* 1160) we find Walterus de Strachan "cum consensu Rodolphi de Strachan," conveying lands to the canons of St Andrews; and a century afterwards, John, the son of Rudolphus, made over to the abbot of Dunfermline, the lands of Belheldie, "pro salute sua,"—an act confirmed by Alexander III. in 1278.

The admiral's more immediate ancestry may be stated shortly. Alexander Strachan of Thornton, a commissioner of Exchequer, on account of his meritorious services, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia on the 28th May 1625. He was one of the three who first received this honour; the two others, created at the same time, being Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonston, and William, Earl Marischal. He married Maude, daughter of Sir William Douglas of Glenbervie, and left two sons. James, who succeeded to the paternal honours, married Elizabeth, daughter of Forbes of Waterton, and died in 1649 without issue. A cousin of the same Christian name succeeded him; he married, first, Mary Henderson, and secondly, Anne, daughter of Captain Barclay. He left two sons, of whom the younger, David, became Bishop of Brechin. James, the elder, succeeded to the baronetcy, and had issue. The younger brother, David, was consecrated Bishop of Brechin at St Andrews on the 7th May 1662; he died in October 1671, aged 72. He was twice married, and left two sons, David, minister of Montrose, and James, commissary of Brechin; and two daughters, Beatrice, who married the Rev. John Strachan, minister of

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Strachan, and Margaret, a spinster. Sir James Strachan of Thornton, elder brother of the Bishop of Brechin, had an only son, James, who, having studied for the ministry, was ordained minister of Keith in 1665. He was twice married, and had a numerous family. He was deprived of his living in November 1689 for not praying for King William and Queen Mary, and praying for the restoration of James VII. He succeeded to the family title, and died at Inverness in 1715, in his 75th year. His eldest son predeceased him, having fallen in the Rebellion of 1715. John, the second son, succeeded to the family honours. Dying without issue, he was succeeded in the baronetcy by a younger brother, Francis, who was a Jesuit in Paris; another brother succeeded to the baronetcy, who was also attached to the Jesuit College. Patrick, supposed to be a younger brother of the minister of Keith, practised as a physician in Greenwich. He was grandfather of the admiral, who succeeded as tenth baronet. On his death, the baronetcy, after a formal service at Edinburgh, was assumed by John Strachan of Teignmouth, Devonshire. The title is now dormant.

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PODIEBRAD.

BOHEMIA PAST AND PRESENT.

By PROFESSOR DE VERICOUR, Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

THE word Bohemia, it is well known, is a conventional appellation devoid of truth; a name derived from the Boij, a Gallic tribe which settled in that country, 587 B.C. In the seventh century, the Czechs, a Slavonian people, conquered it, and that branch of the great Slavonian race has ever possessed a distinct and original life, as well as a vernacular culture, that has not met with the attention it deserves at the hands of historical students. The Germans of the hereditary house of Habsburg, proclaim that the Czechs owe everything to them—arts, science, civilisation; they have often done so in a somewhat insulting language, despite several glorious epochs in the history of Bohemia, namely, the reign of Ottokar, the competitor of Rodolf of Habsburg to the imperial crown, in 1272; the greatness of the University of Prag, in the fourteenth century, and the glorious episode of George of Podiebrad. As to the Bohemian kingdom of Ottokar, by its importance and extent, it alone deserves a special history. It comprised, besides Bohemia proper, great part of modern Prussia, Carinthia, Croatia, Illyria; it extended from the Baltic to the Adriatic sea, with the harbour of Nao on the latter, thus justifying, as it were, Shakespeare, in whose "Winter's Tale" a Sicilian fleet *sails* into Bohemia, a statement that was eagerly ridiculed by Ben Jonson and others.

History has more or less partially related the fate of John Huss, and the sanguinary struggle of the Hussites under their implacable blind chief, John Zisca, as well as their subsequent divisions, their fanaticism, and the concessions finally granted to the rebels by the Council of Basle, when the *compactata* brought to a close the terrible drama of the Hussite war.

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But the subsequent period, comprising the latter half of the fifteenth century—the sequel to the Hussite war—is often ignored, or superficially noticed by historians. This period comprises the fifteen years during which the Emperor of Germany and the Pontiff spared no efforts to annul the transactions of the Council of Basle, and the new struggle of the Czechs under their King Podiebrad, who kept the enemies of his country at bay during twenty years, and finally succumbed after wonders of heroism, patience, and wisdom. This latter period of the wars of Bohemia, besides being purposely neglected by German prejudices, had not found a student of its original documents, either among the Teutons or the Slavonians. The recent researches of the Czech historian, Franz Palacky, who has ransacked the archives of Prag, all the chronicles of this period, as well as numerous irrefragable documents, have brought to light the real physiognomy of Podiebrad, and of his Czechs.

The *compactata*, namely, the concessions made to the Hussites by the Fathers of the Council of Basle, were intended to effect a lasting reconciliation between the Hussites and the Austrian Emperor Sigismund, King of Bohemia. A solemn and sumptuous ceremony took place at Iglau, in Moravia, on the 5th of July 1436, for the proclamation of the peace and the exchange of oaths. Sigismund sat on a gorgeous throne, surrounded by the prelates, the imperial council, and the various orders of the nobility, as well as the delegates of the Hussites. The latter swore obedience to the Catholic Church, after which, the Roman Legates handed over to them the *compactata*, namely, the written document of the Council of Basle conceding to the Hussites their religious privilege. The Roman Legates further ordered all princes and people never to molest the Hussites, because they received the communion under the two forms, and to live with them in peace and Christian charity; they also enjoined to the Archbishop of Prag, and all the bishops, to administer the Hussite communion to all those who would require it. After the ceremony of Iglau, the rejoicings were boundless.

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It seemed as if a new era was dawning over Bohemia, after so many horrors and abominable violences. Probably both parties were then blinded by singular illusions as to the future peace and union. It is difficult to admit and to believe that the Hussites fought with fury during twenty years for the mere privilege of taking the sacraments with bread and wine, the host and the cup, for, in this only they dissented, and were not considered as Catholics by Pontifical Rome. Undoubtedly this privilege was to them a symbol of freedom and political reforms; political and religious principles were interwoven; both were passionately discussed at the time by theologians and political chroniclers. A reconciliation was impossible. Monarchical and clerical absolutism had only yielded to necessity.

Soon after the ceremony of Iglau, the first symptoms of dissensions made their appearance. A Hussite priest had administered the Hussite communion in the same church where a Catholic priest was officiating; the latter protested violently, and all the sectarian passions were rekindled. It became the signal for a general reaction against the Hussites, which assumed a character of legality by the attitude of the Pontiff Eugenius IV. The majority of the Fathers of the Council of Basle had carried the concessions of the *compactata* despite the furious opposition of the Roman minority. The Pope had transferred the Council to Ferrara, afterwards to Florence, and finally in Rome. Meanwhile the majority displayed great courage in continuing to sit at Basle, but its decisions were considered by the world at large null and void, being deprived of the Pontifical sanction. Great confusion in the affairs of the Church ensued. The reaction against the Hussites, favoured by the Emperor Sigismund, continued to extend during twelve years. One of its first public acts of cruelty terrified the city of Prag in September 1437: fifty-three of the advanced partisans of John Huss, and fifty-three Taborites, were hung on the great square of the city, under some futile pretence. The engagement solemnly sworn at Iglau was violated. The national liberties

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of Bohemia were trampled under foot. The consternation, was general. But the anarchy that followed was a greater misfortune than the reaction, however cruel it might be. The Emperor Sigismund died on the 9th of December 1437; his son-in-law, Albert of Austria, succeeded him as king of Bohemia, and died also, after a reign of one year and ten months; he had been somewhat more favourable to the national cause, and his death was considered as a public calamity. The disorganised state of the country rendered the authority of a sovereign indispensable; all parties understood the danger of the situation. It soon became known that the widow of Albert of Austria was pregnant, and some time after she gave birth to a son, who reigned later, under the name of Ladislas the Posthumous; but the wretched state of the kingdom required the presence of an energetic governor, whilst the rights of the new-born prince would be reserved. The electors, who had been selected by a primary election to appoint such a governor, fixed their choice upon Albert, Duke of Bavaria, who, however, laid some conditions for his acceptance, which were repudiated by the Czechs.

The Czechs were unfortunately divided to a degree rarely met with in history. Four groups were more especially conspicuous, irrespective of the shades and sub-divisions in each of them; they were *(First)*, the Catholics; *(Secondly)*, the Taborites, who derived their name from Tabor, the formidable castle and camp founded by Zisca in 1419, fanatics who committed unheard of cruelties in an age of ferocity; they formed an unclaimable, irreconcilable sect, as they repudiated purgatory, auricular confession, confirmation, and the real presence; *(Thirdly)*, the Calixtins, sub-divided into the moderate and the ardent Calixtins, both forming the great mass of the nation, deriving their appellation from their claim to the use of the cup (calix) at the communion. They were also called Utraquists (subutraque), from their taking the sacraments under the two forms. The ardent, or zealous, Calixtins were headed by one of the most considerable men in the kingdom, Placek of Pirkstein. He was one of those men of genius over-

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looked by the muse of history because of the narrow field that beheld their activity, and of the confusion that surrounds them. During the five years that followed the death of Albert of Austria, Pirkstein, by his prudence and audacity, by his moral courage and invincible perseverance, saved his country from destruction. One of the most powerful Barons of Bohemia, Ulrich von Rosenberg, was the chief of the Catholic or Roman party, supported by the higher nobility. He was not like Pirkstein, a warrior always on the field, but an astute politician and diplomatist, representing the cause of Germany as well as that of Rome. In Rome, also, the confusion was scandalous; there were two Popes and two Councils in Christendom, Felix V., elected by the Basle Council, in 1440, and Eugene IV. at Rome, with his Council at Florence. Bohemia endeavoured to remain neuter. The Legates of both Popes came alternately to Prag, and were received with the same honours, the Hussites asserting their fidelity to the Roman Church, and demanding the confirmation of the *compactata*. Ulrich Von Rosenberg negotiated with both Popes, but exclusively in view of his personal advantage. Another cause of agitation at this period was the election of Rokycana to the Archbishopric of Prag. He was a great orator and theologian, a pure Calixtin—Hussite; he had been elected despite the opposition of the Catholics, and of the German party. Rokycana had no idea of separating from the Church of Rome, and he requested the Pontiff and his Council for the canonical institution indispensable to his dignity. He received no answer. A great agitation ensued, followed by daily encounters, duels, and battles. There were no tribunals, no laws; everything was decided by the sword. It was a real chaos. It was Placek of Pirkstein, who, by dint of activity and intelligence, appealing to the feelings of patriotism of his countrymen, roused them to a sense of honour and justice; he unfurled the national banner, went from city to city rallying all parties, calling them to reconciliation and public life. He was infusing a new life among the Czechs, when he died suddenly in one of his excursions, on the 27th of August 1444.

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The death of Placek of Pirkstein filled the national party with the deepest consternation. It was no easy matter to find a successor to such a chief. Fortunately, one of his most devoted companions, distinguished for his valour and prudence, although he was only twenty-four years old, George of Podiebrad, appeared to all worthy to succeed him. The celebrated Zisca had been his godfather; he was related to the principal chiefs of the several parties that divided Bohemia, an advantage which he hoped would facilitate his efforts for the pacification of his country. The first step of Podiebrad, once in possession of the Government, was to procure the canonical institution of Rokycana, Archbishop of Prag. Despite his sympathies for the Council of Basle, he had forebodings that Rome would triumph in the conflict between the two Popes, and he applied to Eugenius IV., who turned a deaf ear to his pressing, submissive solicitations. He then appealed to the country; he convoked a general assembly at Pilgram, the most numerously attended that had been seen for a long time in Bohemia, and procured the voting of two important declarations—the first, that the Emperor of Germany should be requested to give up the royal child, Ladislav, son of Albert, and future King of Bohemia; the second,—"That an embassy should be sent to the Pope in order to obtain the consecration of Archbishop Rokycana;" the Assembly, moreover, demanded the nomination of a temporary governor till the majority of Ladislav. Old Rosenberg, and young Podiebrad, were the two candidates for that post; the former represented Rome, the German Empire, the high clergy, and nobility; the latter had in his favour the heart of the nation, the barons, knights, the bourgeoisie, and all who were determined to obtain the execution of the engagements of the Council of Basle.

A series of intrigues, diplomatic calumnies, and crafty proceedings ensued. Rosenberg, in secret despatches to the Pope and to the Emperor, endeavoured to ruin the credit of Podiebrad, and he felt confident of his subsequent victory, when soon after, at the death of Eugenius IV., a particular old friend of his

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was raised to the Pontifical chair, under the name of Nicolas V. A Cardinal Legate of the new Pope came to Prag, and was magnificently received by Rosenberg; he was also hailed with enthusiasm by the people, who believed that the object of his visit was to consecrate officially the National Church and the Archbishop. Their illusions were dispelled a few days after. The Cardinal Legate, on solemnly receiving the national deputations, peremptorily rejected their petitions, and scornfully repudiated the *compactata*. The popular indignation became so menacing that the Cardinal fled; it was reported that he had carried away with him the precious *compactata*, and a body of horsemen hastened after him, overtook him, and forced the terrified Prelate to give up the valuable deed. Rosenberg and his party were masters of Prag; but a few weeks after, Podiebrad, called by the public voice, came up with an army, stormed the walls of the city, and crushed the enemy; the whole population hailed him with enthusiastic acclamations (September 1448). Podiebrad was not guilty of a *coup-d'état;* there was no State in wretched Bohemia, and no right but that upheld by war; he therefore exercised that right after his victory; he united the two Hussite parties, namely, the moderate and ultra, or ardent Calaxtins under his sway, with Prag for a capital. His enemies, meanwhile, avenged themselves by ravaging his estates and murdering his vassals; they were aided in this work of destruction by several German princes, especially the Duke of Saxony and the Margraf of Brandenburg, all eager to crush the usurper. But Podiebrad having disciplined his army, having inspired his followers with an unbounded admiration and confidence, defeated his enemies in a series of campaigns, in which he displayed his military genius, carrying on at the same time negotiations for the cessation of hostilities, with a profound political wisdom. He became the representative of peace, order, and of the national religion. After two years of civil war, a diet was held at Prag; it reconciled the hostile parties, restored order, organised justice, and the popular gratitude justly attributed this great result to George of Podiebrad.

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The Emperor Frederick III., hitherto protector of the Catholic party, as well as of Ulrich of Rosenberg, found it his interest to acknowledge the authority of Podiebrad in Bohemia; Rosenberg followed his example, and a parliament was convoked at Prag for the 23d of April 1452, in which Podiebrad was proclaimed Lieutenant-General, or Governor, of Bohemia, with the mission to complete the restoration of public tranquillity, and to obtain the deliverance of the royal boy Ladislav, as well as the consecration of the Archbishop of Prag. At the same time, and during this work of peace, the Pontifical Legate, Capistrano, whose violence and insulting vociferations were considered as virtues, was exciting the German populations against the Czechs, proclaiming that the *compactata* of the Council of Basle were a tissue of lies, the communion under the two forms an infernal heresy, and Rokycana the vilest of scoundrels. On the other hand, gentler means for the conversion of the Czechs were not neglected; Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., then Bishop of Sienna, held a kind of private theological conference with Podiebrad, in which the latter remained, with respectful firmness and moderation, faithful to the National Church. Towards the close of 1452, the royal boy Ladislav, was delivered from the despotic protectorate of Frederick III., by a party of Hungarians, Germans, and Czechs. He was no sooner free than he found himself under the pressure of the rancorous passions of the various political parties. Podiebrad did not yield to personal ambition, nor did he forget the interests of his country; he loyally proposed to keep the governorship of Bohemia till the majority of the king, the latter consenting to adhere to the *compactata*, and acknowledge Rokycana as Archbishop of Prag; he was further to pledge himself to spare no means of obtaining the Canonical Institution of the Holy See, and to consent to be proclaimed King of Bohemia, not by hereditary right, but by the free election of the country. All was conceded. Podiebrad proceeded to Vienna; his respectful and amiable manners soon won the affection of the royal boy, who afterwards proceeded

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to Prag, where he was crowned with great solemnity, after having sworn fidelity to the laws of the realm.

The accomplished, elegant, royal youth, Ladislav, was, according to all appearances, happy to finish his education under the affectionate superintendence of Podiebrad; there was, however, as it were, a gulf between the two, namely, the religious question. Ladislav was pious and attached to the Church of Rome. He had great difficulty in considering the Hussites as Christians. He could not forget the warnings of Æneas Sylvius, nor the imprecations of Capistrano. Podiebrad studiously avoided ruffling his opinions, and trusted that time would modify his secret intolerance. A great event, that terrified Europe, the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, diverted for awhile the public mind from sectarian animosities. The Hungarians, under their great Hunyadi, were the first to rush and hurl back the infidels. Podiebrad was ready to follow with his Czechs; but his intriguing and jealous enemies and neighbours, spared no efforts to estrange Ladislav from him, and succeeded in obliging him to adjourn his project. In the meantime, Hunyadi was saving Christendom, at Belgrade, and expired a few weeks after from the plague. Capistrano, who had contributed by his heroism to the victory of the Christians, soon followed him to the grave. During the life of the great Hunyadi, the young King of Bohemia had been nominal King of Hungary; he now hastened to Ofen, where the Magyars hailed him as their legitimate sovereign; but he soon found himself encompassed by the enemies of the hero Hunyadi and participated in their dark plots. Count Cilly, the crafty, ambitious enemy of the great Magyar had been murdered by the latter's furious partisans. Now, Ladislav allowed himself to be persuaded, or feigned to be so, that his two sons had taken part in the murder of Cilly. They were arrested, and the eldest was executed under the windows of Ladislav, who left Hungary, immediately afterwards, taking away with him as prisoner the youngest son of Hunyadi, Mathias Corvinus, who subsequently was proclaimed King of Hungary by the unanimous

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voice of the Magyars. Ladislav returned to Prag in 1457, after a sojourn at Vienna. He was of age, and diplomacy was engaged in negotiating his marriage with the daughter of the King of France, Charles VII., when the young king died suddenly at Prag. On his deathbed, he requested Podiebrad to continue to protect Bohemia, adding, "this kingdom is in thy hands." Numerous competitors for the crown of Bohemia came forward; three days were passed in listening to the orators of the princes who aspired to the crown. The assembly of the states for the election of the new king had met on the 27th February 1458; it listened patiently to the arguments and profuse promises of each party. On the morning of the fourth day the voting took place; the whole population was waiting breathless for the decision, when the spokesman of the parliament advanced towards the Governor Podiebrad, knelt before him, and proclaimed him King of Bohemia.

As might be expected, the enemies of the Hussites and of Podiebrad combined to create endless difficulties in the way of the new king; his coronation was the first obstacle he had to surmount, anxious as he was to be crowned with Pontifical sanction. Podiebrad applied to the young King Mathias Corvinus; he had protected him at the time of the murder of his elder brother, had delivered him from the hands of Ladislav, had contributed to his election to the throne of Hungary, and given him his daughter in marriage. Mathias sent him two Hungarian bishops for the coronation; but the Cardinal Roman Legate raised difficulties, insisting on the repudiation of the *compactata*. After long negotiations, both parties agreed to a compromise, namely, a form of oath in which there would be no mention of the *compactata* of Basle, nor of the cup and bread of the Hussites, but only an explicit adhesion to faith in general, to the unity of Faith, and obedience to the Church of Rome. Podiebrad was crowned on the 7th of May 1458. His accession appeared under the most favourable auspices; the emperor acknowledged his election, although not officially; the Pope addressed him, "My Dear

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Son King George." All the princes of Germany engaged in feudal wars were obliged to recognise the new king, whose daughter was sued and wedded by his recent proud foe, Duke Albert of Saxony. Podiebrad, by his skilful negotiations and personal influence, not only became the pacifier of Germany; but his popularity rose to such a degree, that in 1460, a party thought of having him proclaimed King of the Romans, thus giving to the indolent Frederick III., a powerful coadjutor, who would restore order, justice, and unity to Germany. The King of Bohemia, however, repelled such a project on beholding the excitement of the ardent Hussites when they learnt that their King George thought of abandoning them to become a German. A new sect of reckless fanatics arose among them, the *Bohemian Brothers;* they were pursued and punished with great cruelty by the Royal troops. These latter events cast a passing cloud over the popularity of Podiebrad.

The *compactata* of the Council of Basle, and its deposition of Roman Popes, were ignored by the two successors of Eugenius IV., with the view, no doubt, not to revive the remembrance of that scandalous period. It was the following Pontiff, Calixtus III., who accepted the form of oath for the coronation of Podiebrad, being indifferent to the promise, or rather the civil oath, in which the King of Bohemia, in an address to the people after the coronation, engaged himself to uphold the decisions of the Council of Basle. In the same year, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, one of the most learned men of his age, who had so long been mixed in the affairs of the Hussites, was raised to the Pontifical throne under the name of Pius II. In the Council of Basle, he had taken part in most of the decisions against the Court of Rome; once elected Pope, he became the most vehement opponent of the decrees of that Council. Podiebrad had anticipated the hostility of Pius II., as much as the latter expected the energetic resistance of the King of the Czechs, who, according to the usage adopted by all Christian princes, sent to the new Pontiff his oath of obedience; but Pius II. replied

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that, in consequence of the special position of Bohemia, he required an exceptional measure, namely, a numerous solemn embassy, representing, at the same time, the king and the kingdom. Podiebrad, anticipating great difficulties, delayed as long as he could complying with the Pontifical command; finally, yielding to the pressing entreaties of his friends, a solemn embassy was despatched to Rome, where it arrived in March 1462. It was equally composed of Catholics and Hussites. The spokesman of the embassy had numerous interviews and theological discussions with the Pope, which led to no satisfactory results, Pius II. peremptorily demanding that the Hussites should return to the unity of the Church, the latter firmly asserting that they had not left the Catholic Church. In the first solemn audience granted to the Czech deputies by the Pontiff, the principal Czech spokesman, eloquently defended the *compactata*, and the right of the Hussites to the double communion without their being considered as heretics. Pius II. displayed his eloquence and learning in a refutation of two hours, and, in a subsequent solemn assembly, he formally condemned and annulled the *compactata*, repudiating the oath of obedience of King Podiebrad, unless he returned wholly to the Church of Rome, and extirpated the Hussite heresy from Bohemia.

The result of this embassy to Rome filled Podiebrad with anguish and indignation. He knew what dangers awaited him in a struggle with Rome. A German crusade might overwhelm Bohemia. Anxious to explain his position to the country, he convoked the States-General, in which an account of the proceedings of the embassy was given. The *compactata* were again discussed. The Catholics defended the Pontiff. Violent recriminations ensued; they continued several days. The audacity of the Pontifical Legate was such, that Podiebrad ordered his arrest. It was the commencement of the deadly struggle between Pius II. and the King of Bohemia. During these events an insurrection broke out at Vienna. The Emperor Frederick III. had violated the popular franchises, and after an obstinate conflict, found himself a prisoner

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of the insurgents in the fortress, considering his life in danger. He dispatched messengers to Prag imploring the aid of Podiebrad. The Bohemian King hastened to his assistance, defeated the insurgents, and delivered the Emperor, who manifested his gratitude with munificence, promising, also, in a deed, never to interfere with the internal affairs of Bohemia. The indignation of the Pope at this intimate alliance between the Emperor and Podiebrad may easily be conceived; he spared no means to undermine it. However, the skilful rapidity with which the King of Bohemia had hastened to the succour of the Emperor, had considerably raised his moral and material position. Now, Podiebrad turned all his thoughts on the means of securing his country from the ambition of neighbours and the perfidy of political parties. He formed a project for the organisation of a new Europe, based upon a genral peace which would be secured by a Parliament, or Congress, of Sovereigns. He sent an embassy to Louis XI. of France, to request his adhesion to his great scheme. Palacky has given all the details of this great project, and related the adventures of the Czech embassy. The ambassadors met with great opposition on the part of the Councillors of the Crown, and although Louis XI. expressed his personal sympathy for their king and for his propositions, they were dismissed with great honour, but with evasive promises.

Podiebrad was also, at this period, brooding over great plans to repel the Ottoman invasion. Pius II., although appealing to all the European princes to save Christendom, dreaded the co-operation of the heretic King of Bohemia, whose zeal and offers were ignored by the Pontiff. In his ardour to promote the crusade, Pius II. withdrew to Ancona to take in person the command of the Christian army, but no Christian prince responded to his eloquent and urgent summons, and he remained abandoned, broken-hearted, wishing to start alone to be taken and tortured by the infidels, hoping that his martyrdom might awake Christian Europe. He very soon after breathed his last. It has been believed and stated that Pius II. entertained the hope of reconciling Podiebrad, for whom

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he had often expressed a sincere admiration, and that if he could once have obtained his obedience, he would have embraced him with affection. But now came a new Pontiff, Pietro Barbo, a Venetian, who took the name of Paul II. He was notorious for his violence, obstinacy, and frivolity. As soon as he was elected, he declared he would have no Council. He revelled in the most gorgeous splendour. He seemed exclusively occupied with festivities, and the follies of the Carnival. Podiebrad conceived that he had nothing to fear from such a man on the Pontifical throne. He soon discovered the extent of his misconception. Paul II. added to his ostentation and vanity the hard cruelty and pride of a Patrician of Venice. As soon as he discovered that there existed an hostile heresy in Bohemia, he undertook its destruction with the implacable violence of his nature, which several moderate Catholic prelates endeavoured, but in vain, to mitigate. A respectful letter from the King of Bohemia to the Pope remained unanswered. Secret agents from Rome overran Bohemia, exciting the barons and ultra-Catholics to rebellion. Finally, on the 2d of August 1465, Podiebrad was cited, in the most insulting terms, to appear before the Pontifical Tribunal, and, four days after, a Pontifical decree anathematised all those who would continue in his service, or lend him any assistance whatever.

It was a gloomy, discouraging moment for Podiebrad, after such long, heroic labours to raise his country to unity and independence. He knew that the conscience of many of his adherents, in the highest spheres of the State, would be skaken; that his enemies would rise again; that a feudal league would eventually be formed against him. His first step to avert the impending storm was to despatch a most submissive letter to the Pontiff, who, on its being presented to him by the Czech envoys, seized it furiously and flung it away, uttering the most outrageous expressions on Podiebrad. The Emperor of Germany, who was then at Rome, insulted publicly the Czech ambassador. After another effort to reconcile the Pope, offering to command a crusade in the East, which offer was

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received with intense scorn, Podiebrad prepared to attack the league of his enemies. In the meantime, one of the greatest and most venerated divines of Germany, Gregory of Heimburg, who had been at the Council of Basle, and had remained the faithful upholder of its decrees, addressed to all the princes of Christendom a most eloquent justification of the King of Bohemia. It was an appeal to public conscience. The princes of Germany, and Louis XI. of France, sent to the Pontiff an energetic declaration in favour of Podiebrad. On the other hand, the Pope met with a powerful support in the quarter from which it was the least expected. Mathias Corvinus of Hungary, whose wife, daughter of Podiebrad, was no more, had offered his sword to the Pope against his father-in-law; but a new invasion of the Turks obliged the King of Hungary to march towards the Danube. The Emperor Frederick III., forgetting with royal ingratitude the service of Podiebrad, proclaimed his obedience to the Pontiff, and his hatred of the King of Bohemia, but nothing could be expected from his weakness and irresolution. The pacific King of Poland, Casimir, declined, in submissive language, to undertake a war against the King of Bohemia, and sent secret envoys to the latter to inform him of his danger, and to assure him of his loyal friendship. Such a combination of unfavourable circumstances only irritated the hatred of Paul II. During the Easter festivals of 1466, he pronounced from the balcony of St Peter's a solemn anathema on George of Podiebrad, and on all his friends and partisans. Fanatical preachers overran Bohemia and Germany, urging all to join in the crusade against the heretic king. At the same time, Podiebrad, on the advice of Gregory of Heimburg, assembled at Prag a solemn council of all the Catholic chiefs, and read a manifesto, in which he laid bare the iniquities and violences of Paul II., concluding by an appeal to the States of Christendom, to the successor of Paul II., and to all who loved and respected right and justice.

Now, the civil war began to rage fiercely in Bohemia. Podiebrad, and his two sons, who held separate commands,

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defeated their enemies in every encounter. A band of German fanatics committed incredible atrocities, waging a war of assassination in the villages, sparing neither women nor children. The victories of Podiebrad, his magnanimity on all occasions, which contrasted with the ferocity of his foes, raised his moral position and discouraged a great number of those Germans and Czech Catholics leagued against him. The ungrateful Emperor Frederick III., yielding to the Pontifical influence, gave his support to the League. Podiebrad declared war against him; his son, Victorin, invaded Austria, and advanced on Vienna, but could not continue his victorious progress, as the greatest danger that could befall Bohemia was impending. The unscrupulous ambition of Mathias Corvinus had yielded again to the pressing representations of Paul II., and he was marching on Bohemia with an army, in order to exterminate the heretics and ruin his benefactor and father-in-law, George of Podiebrad. The victorious career of Corvinus has ever dazzled the imagination and flattered the Magyars to such a degree, that an almost indestructible legend, on the subject of this King of Hungary, has taken the place of history and of truth. Mathias Corvinus, despite his love of glory, although he founded a library at Buda, was a barbarian with the vices of civilisation—a ferocious barbarian with the fanaticism of an inquisitor. The documents brought to light by Palacky leave no doubt on the subject.

The commencement of the war with the Magyars was not favourable to the Bohemians. The Papal Bulls were launched in rapid succession, all urging on the extermination of the heretics without mercy, promising plenary indulgences to all who would shed their blood. The Magyars thus instigated by the Pope, became ferocious animals, and committed abominations exceeding those of the Hussites of Zisca. Mathias Corvinus had established his head-quarters in a formidable position near Loa. Podiebrad, who had been able to take the field at the commencement of the Magyar invasion, now offered battle to his son-in-law, but in vain; his ferocious foes remained unmovable behind their entrenchments. Podie-

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brad returned to Prag, leaving the command to his son Victorin, whom he enjoined to remain in the town of Trebisch. Victorin imprudently attacked the Hungarians, who repelled him, pursued him, stormed Trebisch, and partly destroyed the city. Victorin's brother hastened to his assistance, and suffered also severe losses; the two brothers found themselves blockaded in their entrenchments, but were saved by the arrival of their father. As soon as the Czechs beheld from their walls the banner of their king, they broke through the Hungarian ranks to join him; a sanguinary encounter ensued, after which they returned to their encampment. This battle of Trebisch, followed by no great result, was celebrated as a great victory by the enemies of the Czechs. Mathias Corvinus was always obliged to retreat whenever he found himself in presence of Podiebrad in person. The King of Bohemia was suffering from severe infirmities; nevertheless, when in presence of the enemy, he displayed the same activity of intellect; he finally succeeded in enclosing the King of Hungary in a deep valley, from which there was no escape. Had Podiebrad given the signal of slaughter, not a single Hungarian could have escaped; but he shrunk from such a butchery. Mathias sued for peace; it was granted, despite the despair of the Czechs, who were burning to destroy their cruel enemies. An armistice was proclaimed. The King of Hungary pledged himself to effect a reconciliation between Podiebrad and Paul II., on the basis of the *compactata*. He wrote to the barons and chiefs of the league that peace was concluded, ordering the immediate cessation of hostilities. The army of the Czechs was sent home.

Mathias Corvinus had often deceived George of Podiebrad, who now again had the *bonhomie* to trust him. The Hungarian king received peremptory and menacing commands from Paul II. to continue the war against the King of Bohemia, relieving him at the same time from his oath to the heretic. Mathias feigned awhile a certain hesitation, but he secretly accepted the crown of Bohemia offered him by the Catholic confederates. As soon as his perfidy became

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fully known to Podiebrad, the latter in his indignation declared war to the death to the traitor. Before entering into this deadly struggle, he accomplished his last magnanimous act of patriotism: he assembled his family, the Councillors of State, and named the son of the King of Poland his successor to the crown of Bohemia. The states of the kingdom adopted his resolution. The two sons of Podiebrad, although beloved and honoured by all, understood that their succession to the throne would be a cause of endless warfare and misfortunes to their country. Mathias Corvinus, considering the cause of Podiebrad as hopeless, did not blush to have himself crowned King of Bohemia at Breslau. In the meantime the whole Czech people rose *en masse* and flocked round their king; he took the offensive and attacked the formidable Hungarian army that was advancing to overwhelm him. A series of sanguinary battles took place between the Czechs and the Magyars. Podiebrad defeated, one after the other, five armies of the King of Hungary. The severity of the winter interrupted the hostilities, which were resumed with fury in the spring. A great indecisive battle was fought on the 29th of June 1470, after which the Hungarians, surprising a corps of Czechs, butchered them to the last man in cold blood, by order of Mathias, whose cruelties revolted the Catholic Czechs themselves, who at last demurred to continue giving their aid to the destruction of their country. The King of Hungary, after having been vanquished in almost every pitched battle, had entrenched himself in a strong, fortified castle, launching out, in every direction, bands of ferocious plunderers, with a view to prolong the war and exhaust the patience of the Czechs. On one occasion, hoping to surprise Prag during the absence of Podiebrad, he came near the city, but was himself surprised by the whole armed population and obliged to hasten a retreat, losing part of his army, as the Czech king was advancing with an incredible rapidity.

The virtues, magnanimity, and heroism of George of Podiebrad roused at length the admiration and sympathies of Europe. Hostile cities, such as Breslau, expressed their

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remorse at having abandoned the noble hero, under whose government they had experienced years of peaceful prosperity. Even in Rome expressions of sympathy for Podiebrad had been uttered in the sacred College. It is said that Paul II. was not without a few pangs of remorse. The reaction in favour of the King of Bohemia was manifest in all the Slavonian regions, and even in Germany. A ray of divine justice seemed at last to dispel all the dark clouds of the vilest passions. The noble figure of Podiebrad was becoming gradually invested with the purest *éclat*, whilst the position of Mathias Corvinus was growing daily more perilous, and his name becoming synonymous with barbarism and treachery. There is every reason to believe that the King of Bohemia would have received the recompense of his virtues and prodigious achievements. But it was not to be so. Overwhelmed by excessive fatigues and mental anxiety, after long sufferings from infirmities, he expired on the 22d of March 1471. All parties, Catholics, Hussites, followed him to his grave, all weeping over the loss of the hero of their country and the father of the people.

There is an epic grandeur in the trials, victories, and virtues of George of Podiebrad that has been summarily passed over by historians, in consequence of the prejudices of races, of clerical fanaticism, and also of historical ignorance. Bohemia has ever been the object of a latent scorn to the Germans, and of indifference to the neo-Latin nations. And now, what became of Bohemia after the death of her hero-patriot Podiebrad? It is a consolation to think that all his sufferings and achievements were not fruitless. His supreme resolutions were sanctioned by the nation and by Europe. Wratislaw, son of the King of Poland, Casimir, became King of Bohemia, and those *compactata*, for which so much blood had been shed during thirty years, remained the fundamental law of the kingdom. Paul II. had felt, as it were, ashamed to urge on the continuation of an impious war. Later, Bohemia succumbed under the over-grown despotic power of Austria. In 1526, Ferdinand, brother of Charles V., was elected King of

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Bohemia, and, from 1547, the Czech kingdom has remained an hereditary possession in the house of Habsburg ; it became an obscure instrument of Austrian policy, as the perpetual resistance of Hungary to defend her old constitution, induced the Austrian governments to encourage the hereditary hatred between the Slavonians and the Magyars.

During the revolutionary episodes of 1848-49, the Slavonians of Austria gave an effective aid to the Habsburgs in their victory over the Hungarians. After this danger the imperial government thought it prudent to concede a collective but limited constitutional government to the empire. But Bohemia, after so long a state of absolute thraldom, elated to excess by this first step in political life, relying also on the weakness and difficulties of Austria, now demanded, in a somewhat menacing tone, a Parliament of her own at Prag, along with many reforms. The Emperor Ferdinand, after considerable hesitation, granted to the Czechs many of the reforms required. At the same time the united Germans were urging the imperial government to resist the pretensions of Bohemia. The Czechs, however, continued their agitation and peremptory demands, which led to the insurrection of Prag, crushed by the artillery of Prince Windischgrätz.

The revolutionary efforts of the various states of the Empire of Austria and their claims to political freedom, were followed by the despotic, bureaucratical centralisation established by the minister, Prince Schwartzenberg, in March 1849. All the pretensions and aspirations of races to local governments were put down by brute force. Hungary remained faithful to her system of irreconcilable, menacing, passive resistance. Such a state of things could not be of long duration in our time, when the rights of nations to a constitutional government, more or less extended, has taken deep root. The Austrian crown continued its cruel efforts to subdue all national aspirations. In 1862, Schmerling attempted to terrorise the Magyars into his patent constitutionalism. But in 1866 the Austrian system of despotism received a mortal blow. Austria being on the verge of ruin after the battle of

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Sadowa, felt the necessity of seeking a new vitality in a free and independent Hungary. The old constitution of St Stephen, amended in 1849, was finally recognised as the law of the land. At the same time as Austria bowed down before the constitution to which the Magyars had always clung, and in the defence of which they had shed so much blood, the new liberal government of Vienna reorganised all the states or provinces of the purely Austrian Empire; each of them, besides the possession of its local diet, was invited to send deputies to the newly-founded Reichsrath (imperial council), at Vienna, in which the Czechs of Bohemia were represented by 37 deputies, in proportion to their population. During more than two hundred years, Germanism had made very effective inroads in the nationality of the Czechs; nevertheless the Czechs have survived Teutonic rapacity and Austrian despotism. It is not half a century since Bohemia has recovered the consciousness of her nationality, through her historical studies and the revived culture of her literature and vernacular idiom. At this day Prag seems to aspire at becoming the political and intellectual centre of the Slavonian nations. The crafty Panslavism of Russia grafted on despotism, did not long delude the Czechs. Hungary, as stated, detached from the Austrian Empire, comprises, besides the Magyars, Transylvania, Croatia, Esclavonia; thus, a considerable Slavonian population is annexed to Hungary, which is also denominated *Transleithania*, from the little river Leitha, which separates Hungary from Austria, whilst the provinces purely German (Austria, Tyrol), with the Slavonians of Bohemia, Gallicia, Illyria, Carinthia, form a separate state, namely, the Austrian Empire, denominated also *Cisleithania*. The Slavonians of Hungary complain that in this organisation they will be *Magyarised*, whilst those of Austria will be *Germanised*. It appears, however, that the Slavonians of Hungary are disposed to be reconciled to their lot, the Magyars having abandoned their former privileges, and put aside their former pride and hatred.

The Czechs, on the other hand, are constant in their mani-

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festations of their national sentiments and aspirations. They appeal to their historical right, which they consider as clear as that of Hungary. Until the present emperor all the Habsburgs have been crowned at Prag, as well as Pesth, and have sworn to respect the rights and privileges of the kingdom of Bohemia, although they generally violated them soon after. The present emperor has not conformed to this formality; the Slavonian Diets of Bohemia and Moravia repudiate the new constitution and refuse to send deputies to the Reichsrath, whilst the Germans of Bohemia proclaim that they are oppressed by the barbarian Czechs, and call for the aid of their brethren of Austria. Such was the state of things when the Austrian government recently proposed to the Reichsrath various measures in order to conciliate the Czechs. These propositions were received with indignation by the Germans. Nevertheless, the emperor and his ministers continued their efforts. At the Bohemian Diet, held at Prag on the 14th September 1871, it was announced in a Royal message that the imperial government intended to regulate with equity the relations of Bohemia with the crown, and that the emperor would acknowledge her rights by his coronation with the constitutional oaths; two projects of laws were also announced, one on the modification of the electoral system, the other referred to the relations between the two nationalities, German and Czechs, within the limits of the kingdom of Bohemia; these two laws were to bring the two races on a footing of equality. The German deputies of the Diet expressed their hostility and withdrew. All the Germans proclaimed that Austria was on the verge of falling into the hands of Slavonian barbarism. The Czech deputies of the Diet, nevertheless, continued their labours. They drew up a series of requests whose object is to protect their nationality in the Austrian monarchy; they expressed their readiness to acknowledge the ministry at Vienna, but demanding the nomination of a special Czech Chancellor who would be their representative. Their demands have met with a fierce hostility on the part of all the Germans, who were immeasurably elated

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by the victories of Prussia. The emperor has yielded to their clamour. A new ministry, hostile to Bohemia, has been formed. A new, rough, military governor has been sent to Prag. The press is gagged. New elections were ordered and have taken place, Bohemia being purely and simply invited to send her 37 Czech deputies to the Reichsrath; but the newly elected deputies refuse again to proceed to Vienna until the promises made to their country have been fulfilled.

Such is the present state of Bohemia. The moderate Germans and many friends of the Czechs condemn their pretensions on the ground that they have not the same historical right as the Magyars, since they were actually annihilated during two centuries, but above all, that the Magyars are isolated, whilst the Czechs, by forming an association, and combining their power with their Slavonian brethren of the Austrian Empire, could not easily be overwhelmed by the German deputies in the Reichsrath. It is to be hoped that such a union and a policy of conciliation on all sides will soon close an era of agitation fatal to all.

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WAT TYLER.

By PROFESSOR DE VERICOUR.

It is singular and instructive to mark how close is the resemblance between the popular discontents of different times and the spring as well as the progress of their action. During the fourteenth century the great body of the people, especially in England, was gradually rising in the scale of civilisation, and, at the same time that the pressure on them was increased, the simplest civic rights were denied them. During the age we are referring to, there was a contemporaneous movement of the lower classes—of the body of the people—in various countries. The stern slavery under the feudal system was relaxing. The voice of the serf, who so long in silence had endured his bondage, was at length more or less heard. The spirit of freedom, which heretofore had animated only the noble and the high-born, was now inflaming the hearts of those who, under the bonds of villain-service, had been part of the ownership of the soil. There was an almost simultaneous rising of the lower orders of the people, and its not being confined to any one country, can only be explained by general, and, doubtless, various causes affecting European society and governments at large.

It is a well-known and great truth in history, that the great and hardest problem of political wisdom is, to prevent any part of society from being so socially degraded by poverty, that their political enfranchisement becomes dangerous or even mischievous. This danger was encountered by the young King Richard II. in the early part of his reign. The oppression of the serfs, and the exactions under which the common people were suffering, had produced a high state of popular exasperation. Little was needed to cause an outbreak against the government. It was Richard's fate to live

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in times when his pomp and pride became doubly dangerous. We have stated that a change was coming over the spirit of the people of Europe. There were indications, in the greater part of Europe, that government was no longer to be an affair of kings and nobles only, and the popular element was beginning to manifest itself, as soon as it ceased to be crushed and stifled by military glory and brute force.

Richard II. succeeded to a reign which, during the long term of fifty years, had been triumphant abroad and unresisted at home, and the strength and glory of that reign were well fitted to fill the mind of the boy-king—for he was but 16 years of age—with the belief that his throne was impregnable, and that his sceptre had a superhuman might. This pride may well have been heightened, moreover, by the ancestral feeling inspired by the heroic character and the martial prowess of his father, Edward the Black Prince, who, unhappily for his son, had died before the succession reached him. There was every thing in Richard's thoughts of the past to fire his pride; and when he succeeded to the crown, he naturally felt that his throne was upheld, not only by the moral influence of a nation's love for the memory of his forefathers, but also by the counsel and the power of the surviving sons of Edward III.

The war with France had cost England large sums of money. The nation was harassed by taxation, and often by the way in which taxes were levied. In the last year of the reign of Edward III., a capitation tax had been imposed on the nation; it was now passed again by Parliament with slight modifications, but such as to make it fall less heavily on the poor. Every male and female of fifteen years of age was to pay three groats; but in cities and towns the aggregate amount was to be divided among the inhabitants according to their abilities, or in such a way that no individual should pay less than one groat. Where there was little or no registration, the fixing of the age was sure to lead to disputes; the collectors might easily take a boy or girl of 14 to be 15, and poverty would induce many of the poor knowingly to make a misstatement of

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the opposite kind. Nevertheless, the levying of this obnoxious tax might have passed over with nothing more serious than a few riots between the people and the tax-gatherers, had it not been for other circumstances involved in the mighty change which had gradually been taking place in the whole body of European society. The peasantry had gradually been emerging from slavery to comparative freedom; they began to feel their own right to be treated as men by their superiors in the accidental circumstances of rank and wealth. The peasants were in a state of transition, during which blunders and crimes were committed by both parties. But in this insurrection, as well as in the Jacquerie, ignorance may be pleaded in exculpation of the people, whilst the upper classes were guilty of crime in keeping them in that brutalising state of ignorance. The real motive of the revolutionary movement was the enfranchisement of the peasantry; the rest was an after-thought, begotten in the madness of success and the frenzy inspired in unenlightened minds by the first consciousness of power; and such an object is so legitimate, and sacred as it were, that nothing can disgrace it nor eventually defeat it. "Their masters," says Sir James Mackintosh, "in some places pulled them back too violently; they were impatient of the time which such an operation requires. Accidental provocations—malignant incendiaries—frequently excited them to violence; but in general the commotions of that age will be found to be near that point in the progress of slaves towards emancipation, when their hopes are roused and their wrongs not yet redressed."

In Flanders many sanguinary excesses had been committed upon the aristocracy, although many respectable burghers had taken a share in the insurrection. In France, the recent Jacquerie, had left deep traces of terror mingled with horror. If the attempt of the French peasantry offered a discouraging example to their neighbours of England, on the other hand the democratic party had had a long triumph in Flanders; and at this very moment the son of Jacques Van Artevelde, with Peter du Bois, was waging a successful war against this

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court, their nobles, and the whole aristocracy of France. From the close intercourse between the two countries, many of the English must have been perfectly acquainted with all that was passing in Flanders, and may have derived encouragement therefrom. A new revolt had also commenced in France, headed by the burghers and the inhabitants of the towns; it began at Rouen, where the collectors of taxes and duties on provisions were massacred, and it soon spread to Paris and other great cities. Many historians have attributed part of the storm which was now gathering in England to the preaching of Wycliffe's disciples, but their original authorities seem to have been prejudiced witnesses against the Church reformer. The convulsion is sufficiently accounted for by the actual condition of the people of England at this period, considered in connection with the particular point in its progress at which society had arrived, as observed by Sir James Mackintosh. That condition, though far superior to the state of the French people, was sufficiently wretched and galling. A considerable portion of the peasants were still serfs or villains, bound to the soil, and sold or transmitted with the estates of the nobles and other land proprietors. With the exception of some of the lower order of the secular clergy, there were but few persons disposed to consider or treat them as fellow-creatures.

The discontents and sufferings of the classes immediately above these serfs—the poor townspeople on the coast more particularly, who had been plundered by the foreign fleets—no doubt contributed to hurry on the sanguinary crisis; but it was the poll-tax that was the proximate cause of the mischief. At first the tax was levied with mildness. Unfortunately, according to the royal custom so long prevalent in Europe, it was afterwards farmed out to some courtiers, who raised money upon it from Flemish and Lombard merchants, when it became exacted by their collectors with great severity; and as it became more and more evident that the receipts could in no case come up to the amount calculated, the collectors had recourse to harsh measures. The obstinacy of

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the people kept pace with the severity of the collectors: many of the rural districts refused payment. The recusants met with very rough, cruel treatment, especially in Kent and Essex. A considerable portion of the people became exasperated, held secret meetings, took counsel together, organised themselves, and openly resisted the exactors, whom they attacked and put to flight, killing and wounding some of them. The government began to feel alarmed at these proceedings, and sent commissioners into the disturbed districts. One of these commissioners, Thomas de Bampton, sat at Brentford, in Essex: the people of Fobbing were summoned before him, and in answer to his remonstrances, they declared that they could not pay one penny more than they had done, upon which the commissioner, Thomas de Bampton, sternly and rudely threatened them; his menaces made matters worse, for, when he ordered his serjeants-at-arms to arrest them, the people offered a stout resistance, and drove him and his men-at-arms to London. The insurrection was fairly commenced. The government sent down into Essex Sir Robert Belknape, chief-justice of the common pleas, to try the offenders, and he met with a still more serious resistance; the peasants surrounded him, called him traitor to the king and realm; they forced him to fly, and cut off the heads of the jurors and clerks of the commission. They stuck these heads upon poles, and carried them through all the neighbouring townships and villages, calling upon all the poor to rise and join them.

Sir Robert Hales, Prior of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, who had recently been created Lord Treasurer of England, was an especial object of the popular fury. He had a sumptuous manor in Essex, "wherein," says the chronicle, "were ordained victuals and other necessaries for the use of a chapter-general, with great abundance of fair stuff, of wines, arras, cloths, and other provisions for the knights brethren." The peasants surrounded the manor, took possession of all the provisions, drank all the wine, and then destroyed the house. These peasants always called themselves the Commons of England, and were generally called so by others; what they

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now wanted most was a leader, and they found one in the person of "a riotous priest," who took the name of Jack Straw. This man displayed the greatest activity; messages and letters were sent in all directions; and, in a few days, not only the whole agricultural population of Essex was up in arms, but their neighbours in Kent, Suffolk, and Norfolk, were following the example. In Kent, an act of brutality on the part of a tax-gatherer, and an act of great imprudence, considering the prevailing excitement, on the part of a knight, fanned the flames of revolt. One of the collectors of the poll-money went to the house of one Walter the Tyler, in the town of Dartford, and demanded the tax for a young maiden, the daughter of Walter. The mother maintained that she was but a child, and not of the womanly age set down by the act of Parliament; the collector said he would ascertain the fact, and he offered an intolerable insult to the girl. The maiden and her mother cried out, and the father, who was tiling a house in the town, ran to the spot, and knocked out the tax-gatherer's brains. All who beheld the deed applauded it enthusiastically, and prepared to support the Tyler. About the same time, Sir Simon Barley went to Gravesend with an armed force, and claimed an industrious man living in that town as his escaped bondsman. According to the law, a villain acquired his freedom by a residence of a year and a day in a town; but in this case Barley demanded the large sum of three hundred pounds of silver for the surrender of his claim to the man, and when this was refused, he carried him off a prisoner to Rochester Castle. The Commons of Kent now rose as one man, and being joined by a strong body of the men of Essex, who crossed the Thames, they fell upon Rochester Castle, and either took it, or compelled the garrison to deliver up Sir Simon's serf, with other prisoners. In the town of Maidstone, the insurgents appointed Wat the Tyler their captain, and then took out of prison, and had for their chaplain or preacher, a priest called John Ball, who had been several times in confinement for his having preached rebellion, and who was now

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under persecution by the Archbishop for irregularity of doctrine.

On the Monday after Trinity Sunday, 1381, Wat Tyler entered Canterbury, denouncing death to the Archbishop, who, however, was absent. After terrifying the monks and the clergy of the Cathedral, he forced the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, to swear to be true to Richard and to the lawful Commons of England, and ordering subsequently three rich men of Canterbury to be beheaded, he marched away towards London, followed by five hundred of the poor town folk. On his march recruits came to him from all quarters of Kent and Sussex, and by the time he reached Blackheath, there were, it is said, one hundred thousand desperate men obeying the orders of Wat Tyler. It does not seem precisely known how it happened that while at Blackheath the widow of the Black Prince, the young king's mother, fell into their hands; but, however furious these rough men may have been, they respected her; she was merely exposed to the necessity of granting a few kisses to some of those dirty, rough-bearded men, and allowed to continue quietly her journey to London with her retinue and maids of honour, the leaders engaging to protect her and her son. While their followers were encamped about Blackheath and Greenwich, the priest of Kent, John Ball, kept up their rebellious spirit by long sermons and orations, explaining to them how all men were equal before God, and how they had also the right to be so before the laws of the land. However, he did not confine himself to these very fair principles; it appears that he went on to recommend an equality of property and a destruction of all the upper classes. But it has been suspected, with great probability, that Ball's real view may have been considerably misrepresented by his enemies. His popular eloquence had a magical effect on the multitude, whose enthusiasm roused his vanity and ambition to such a degree, that, forgetting his own doctrines of equality, he listened with complacency to the people vowing that they would make him Primate and Chancellor of England. Meanwhile the in-

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surgents occupied all the roads, killed all the judges and lawyers that fell into their hands, and made all the rest of the passengers swear to be true to King Richard and the Commons—to accept no king whose name was John—and to pay no tax except the 15th, which had been paid by their forefathers. With reference to the antipathy of the insurgents to the name of John, it must be stated that John was an unhappy name in English history, besides which, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the king's uncle, was held guilty of all the oppression the people had lately suffered, and, above all, the notion of his having designs on the crown was as prevalent as ever.

As soon as the Court became aware of the gravity of the popular outbreak, the young King Richard with his mother, with his cousin, Henry of Bolinbrooke, with Simon, Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor, Sir Robert Hales, Treasurer, and other members of the government, threw himself into the tower of London. The Duke of Lancaster was in Scotland negotiating a peace, and Gloucester and York, the other uncles of the king, were absent. The king's council discussed the most effective means of crushing the insurrection; some were of opinion that Richard should go and speak with the insurgents; but the Archbishop and the Treasurer vehemently opposed this measure, and maintained that nothing should be used but the sword "to abate the pride of such vile rascals." The King, however, either following his own impulse, or listening to more humane advice, got into his barge on the 12th of June, and descended the river as far as Rotherhithe, where he found a vast multitude drawn up along the shore, with two banners of St George and many pennons. "When they perceived the King's barge," says Froissard, "they set up cries and shouts as if all the devils from hell had come into their company." All the persons who accompanied the King were so startled and terrified that they turned the boat, and, taking advantage of the rising tide, rowed back with all speed to the Tower. The Commons, who had always professed the greatest attachment to Richard's person, felt bitterly disappointed; they now called aloud for

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the heads of all the ministers; they commenced their march along the right bank of the river to Southwark, and then to Lambeth; they destroyed the Marshalsea and king's bench, and burnt the furniture as well as all the records and books in the palace of the Primate. At the same time the men of Essex advanced along the left bank of the river, and after destroying a mansion of the Lord Treasurer's at Highbury, they threatened the north-eastern part of London. Walworth, the Mayor, caused the moveable part of London bridge to be drawn up to prevent the men of Kent from crossing the river, but on the following day a passage was yielded to them through fear, and the insurgents now entered the city, where they were presently joined by all the rabble.

The consternation and terror of London was indescribable. At first, the demeanour of the insurgents was most moderate; they took nothing, offered no violence, paid for all they wanted. But the rich citizens, hoping to conciliate the mob, opened their cellars, invited them to enter, and when the peasants had once tasted the rare luxurious beverages, they could not be satiated; they seized them all by force wherever they could find them, and the madness of drunkenness was soon added to political fury. In this state, the multitude rushed to the Savoy, the beautiful and stately house of the Duke of Lancaster; they broke into it and set fire to it. The insurgents, however, were not bent upon plunder; their leaders had published a proclamation, ordering that none, on pain of death, should secrete or convert to his own use anything that might be found there, but that plate, gold, and jewels should all be destroyed; and they certainly proved themselves as good as their words, for, one of them being found hiding a silver cup under his clothes, was thrown into the Thames along with the cup. It appears clearly that the leaders' prohibition did not apply to the Duke of Lancaster's wines; the insurgents, more probably the city rabble, must have drank immoderately, as thirty-two of them, engaged in the cellars of the Savoy, were too drunk to remove in time, and were buried under the smoking ruins of the house. The work of destruction con-

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tinued fiercer and fiercer. Newgate was demolished, and the prisoners who had been confined there, and in the Fleet, joined in the work of havoc. The Temple was also burnt, with all the ancient and valuable records it contained, as well as the books; another party, at about the same time, set fire to the Priory of St John of Jerusalem, in Clerkenwell, which had recently been built by Sir Thomas Hales, the prior of the order, and treasurer of the kingdom. After this frenzy of destruction, the insurgents proceeded to the shedding of blood. They established a systematic slaughter; they adopted a watchword, "For whom holdest thou?" the answer to which was, "With King Richard and the true Commons." They put the question to every man they met, and whosoever knew not the answer to it, was instantly put to death. The people of England at all times, and especially the uneducated people, have felt a strong antipathy to foreigners. At that time the English people bore a deadly rancour against the Flemings established in London; it was popularly said that they fattened on their miseries. Thirty of these unfortunate foreigners had taken refuge in a church, but the sanctuary of the church was disregarded; they were dragged from the altar into the street, and beheaded amidst shouts of triumph and savage joy; thirty-two others were seized in the vintry and underwent the same fate. Many of the rich citizens were massacred in attempting to escape; those who remained did nothing for the defence of the city, and all that night London was involved in fire, murder, and debauchery.

On the morning of the 14th of June, the Court resolved to try the effect of concession, and of promises which there was no intention of keeping, nor probably would it have been in the power of the Court of so doing, had the will been ever so strong. A proclamation was issued to a multitude that crowded Tower Hill, in order to prevent the introduction of provisions into the fortress, and clamouring for the heads of the chancellor and treasurer; they were told in this proclamation that if they would retire quietly to Mile-End, the king would meet them there and grant all their requests. The gates were im-

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mediately flung open, the drawbridge was lowered, and the young King Richard rode forth, with a few attendants, and without arms. The commonalty from the country followed the king. On the way, Richard's half-brother, the Earl of Kent and Sir John Holland, alarmed for their own safety, put spurs to their horses and left him. On arriving at Mile-End the young king saw himself surrounded by upwards of sixty thousand peasants; but their demeanour was by no means menacing; it was, on the contrary, mild and respectful. They at once stated their object and expectations; they presented no more than four demands, three of which must be admitted as being wise and moderate, and the one which was found exceptionable went to fix a maximum for the price of land, which was not more absurd than an act of their rulers in the preceding reign, which fixed the maximum price of agricultural labour. These four demands of the peasants, were: 1st, The total abolition of slavery for themselves and their children for ever; 2d, The reduction of the rent of good land to fourpence the acre; 3d, The full liberty of buying and selling, like other men, in all fairs and markets; 4th, A general pardon for all past offences. The king, with a gracious countenance, assured them that all these demands were granted, and, returning to London, he employed upwards of thirty clerks to make copies of the charter containing the four clauses. In the morning these copies were sealed and delivered, and then an immense body of the insurgents, consisting chiefly of the men of Essex and Hertfordshire, quietly withdrew from the capital; a vast number of more dangerous men, however, remained behind. On the preceding day, while the king was on his way to Mile-End, the people of Kent, who had been joined by a motley rabble of miscreants, had committed some ferocious deeds. Almost as soon as the king had taken his departure, they got into the Tower, and with a facility which excites a suspicion of treachery or disaffection on the part of the garrison, once in possession of it, they cut off the heads of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor; of Sir Robert Hales, the treasurer; of the king's confessor; and of four

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farmers of the tax. The Princess of Wales and the king's mother were in the Tower, and completely at the mercy of the bloodthirsty insurgents; but they were unmolested, and only subjected to some rough proceedings. Nevertheless, the scene of horror overpowered the king's mother; she was carried in a senseless state to a covered boat, in which she was rowed across the river; the king joined her as soon as he could, and had her conveyed to a house called the Royal Wardrobe, in Carter Lane, Bernard's Castle Ward.

We have now come to the climax of this popular insurrection of the fourteenth century. Wat Tyler, and the leaders with him, rejected the charter which the men of Essex had so gladly accepted. Another charter was drawn up, but it equally failed to please, and even a third with still larger concessions was rejected with contempt. The next morning the king left the Wardrobe and went to Westminster, where he heard mass, and paid his devotions before a statue of "Our Lady" in the Abbey, which had the reputation of performing many miracles, particularly in favour of English kings. After this the young king mounted his horse, and with a retinue of barons and knights rode along "the Causeway" towards London. As he was approaching, he beheld at a distance the great multitude; he came into West Smithfield, and met Wat Tyler, who was at the head of the insurgents. The king had been joined by the mayor, and some other city magistrates, but his whole company, it is said, did not exceed sixty persons, who were all on horseback. In the front of the Abbey of St Bartholomew, Richard drew rein, and said that he would not go thence until he had appeased the rioters. Wat Tyler, on seeing him, said to his men: "Here is the king! I will go and speak with him; move not hand or foot unless I give you a signal." Wat Tyler was on horseback, and armed; he boldly rode up to the king, and went so near that his horse's head touched the flank of Richard's steed; he then addressed the king, exclaiming: "King, dost thou see all those men there?" "I see them," replied Richard. "Why dost thou ask?" "Because they are at my will, and

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have sworn by their faith and loyalty to do whatsoever I should bid them," responded Wat Tyler. During this parley, the rebel chief was handling or playing with his dagger; and it is stated by some that he laid hold of Richard's bridle. It is very probable that Wat Tyler, a common uneducated man, was so far intoxicated by his position and brief authority as to behave with a coarse insolence; but it is absurd to suppose that he intended to kill the king. It has been stated by some that the king ordered his arrest; it is affirmed by others that John Walworth, the Lord Mayor, thinking that he intended to stab the king, rode up, and plunged a short sword into his throat without any order. But all accounts agree in stating that, whether with sword, dagger, or mace, it was the mayor that struck the first blow. Wat Tyler turned his horse's head to rejoin his men, when Ralph Standish, one of the king's esquires, thrust his sword through his side, "so that he fell flat on his back to the ground, and, beating with his hands to and fro for a while, he gave up his unhappy ghost."

When the men of Kent saw Wat Tyler fall, they cried out furiously that they were betrayed—that their captain and guide had been basely murdered; the foremost among them began to put their arrows on the string. It was a moment in which the life or death of the king and his retinue were at stake. The personal intrepidity of the royal boy saved his life. He rode gallantly up to the insurgents and exclaimed, "What are ye doing, my lieges? Tyler was a traitor! I am your king, and I will be your captain and guide." On hearing these words a great confusion and uncertainty ensued among the insurgents; many slipped away, others remained, but being without a leader they knew not what to do. The king rode back to his lords and suite and asked them what step they should advise him to take next. The Lord Mayor exclaimed that they should make for the fields, as if they attempted to retreat or flee their ruin was certain, whilst by gaining a little time, they would be assisted by their good friends in the city, who were preparing and arming with all

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their servants. The king and his party bent their way towards the northern road, and the mob, wavering and uncertain, followed him to the open fields about Islington. Here one thousand men-at-arms (Froissard, with his usual inaccuracy, says from 7000 to 8000), joined the king, under the command of Sir Robert Knowles. The insurgents now, in presence of these regular troops, considered their case hopeless; they either ran away through the corn-fields, or, throwing their bows on the ground, knelt and implored for mercy. Sir Robert Knowles now urged vehemently that the rebels should be attacked and slain in a heap, but the king would not consent to it, adding that he would have his full revenge on them in another way, and afterwards he kept true to his word.

While these events were taking place in London and its neighbourhood, the servile war had spread over a great part of England—on the southern coast, as far as Winchester; on the eastern coast, as far north as Scarborough. The nobles had shut themselves up in their strong castles, and consequently little blood was shed. There was, however, one conspicuous exception to this general conduct of the nobility. Henry Spencer, Bishop of Norwich, scorned to flee and shelter himself from the attacks of the vile peasantry; he armed his retainers, collected his friends, and kept the field against the insurgents of Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon. He surprised several bodies of the peasants, and cut them to pieces; others he took prisoners. After the campaign, the Bishop would put off the complete armour which he wore, and laying down the sword, take up the crucifix, he would confess his captives, give them absolution most fervently, and send them straight to the gibbet or the block. —(Walsingham, Stow, Holinshed).

Soon after the death of Wat Tyler, King Richard found himself at the head of forty thousand horse, it is said, which appears somewhat exaggerated, and now commenced the reaction and the work of vengeance. The King let at once the villains know that all his royal charters meant nothing,

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and that they must return to their old bondage. The men of Essex, whose conduct had been the most moderate and rational, felt indignant; they made a stand, but were defeated with great loss. Afterwards Courts of Commission were opened in different towns, nominally to try the chief offenders, but in reality to condemn them. Jack Straw and John Ball, the strolling preachers; Lister and Westbroom, who had taken to themselves the titles of kings of the Commons in Norfolk and Suffolk, with several hundreds more, were executed. At first they were beheaded; afterwards they were hanged and left on the gibbet to excite horror and terror; but their friends cut down the bodies and carried them off; and in order to prevent his purpose being thus baffled, the King ordered that they should be hanged in strong iron chains. According to Holinshed, the whole number of executions amounted to fifteen hundred.

When Parliament assembled it proved itself as hostile as the crown to the conceding any of the demands of the people; both were faithful to all the records of history in similar cases; they would have belied all experience if, being victorious, they had consented to the least concession to the vanquished. The upper classes repudiated the recognition of the rights of the poor to a degree, which in our time would be considered sheer insanity. The king had annulled, by proclamation to the sheriffs, the charters of manumission which he had granted to the insurgents, and this revocation was warmly approved by both Lords and Commons, who, not satisfied with saying that such enfranchisement could not be made without their consent, added, that they would never give that consent, even to save themselves from perishing altogether in one day. There was, it is true, a vague rumour about the propriety and wisdom of abolishing villanage; but the notion was scouted, and the owners of serfs showed that they neither doubted the right by which they held their fellow-creatures in a state of slavery, nor would hesitate to increase the severity of the laws affecting them. They now passed a law by

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which "all riots and rumours, and other such things were turned into high treason;" this law was most vaguely expressed, and would probably involve those who made it in inextricable difficulties. It was self-apparent, that this Parliament acted under the impulses of panic, and of revenge for recent injuries. Subsequently the Commons presented petitions, calling for redress of abuses in the administration; they attributed the late insurrection to the extortions of purveyors, to the venality and rapacity of the judges, and officers of the Courts of Law, to the horrible doings of a set of robbers called maintainers, and to the heavy weight of recent taxation; but they said not a word about that desire for liberty, which was in reality the main torrent in that inundation, the others being but as tributary streams swelling its waters. When the king afterwards demanded a supply, the Commons refused, averring that a new tax would provoke a new insurrection. But when the Commons, in their turn, asked for a general pardon, *not* for the insurgents, but for themselves and others, for illegal acts committed by them, *in putting down the rebels*, the king gave them to understand that the Commons must make their grants before he dispensed his favours. A most curious discussion took place on this occasion; the pressing again and again for money, on the part of the King; the Commons wavering and stating that they must have time for consideration, and the King retorting that he must also have time to deliberate on their petition of pardon. Finally the Commons gave way; they voted that the tax upon wool, woolfels, and leather, should be continued for five years. The obnoxious poll-tax was not mentioned. The King then granted the general pardon requested, *for all loyal subjects*, and a few weeks later this grace was extended to the peasantry.

It is a melancholy fact that, in history as well as in war, woe to the vanquished! An exulting admiration for victory and success, is not confined to those who are the contemporaries of events; their injustice is but too often shared by posterity and historians. Successful tyranny engenders a

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contagion of falsehood, that penetrates deep into the soul. The contemporaries alone are not the flatterers of successful crimes; the future is often as much so. There often seems to be in the essence of the whole Humanity an immoral or base tendency to justify whatever partakes of triumphant brute-force, and condemn without investigation all that has succumbed. We have a striking instance of it in the history of France, even more so than in the history of England. The serfs of the cities struggled during two centuries of incessant and sanguinary revolts against their lords and bishops to obtain the enfranchisement of their municipalities. Whenever they had an opportunity, they never failed to gratify themselves with a wholesale massacre of the agents and partisans of their masters and tyrants. It might be said that the citizens of the municipalities wrote their charters of enfranchisement with the very blood of their lords and bishops; yet, during the worst days of oppression, the serfs of the cities had never suffered the cruel excesses of tyranny endured by the country people till the middle of the fifteenth century. And, nevertheless, the long struggles of the townships, despite the bloodshed and cruelties of the citizens, are ever considered and narrated as glorious revolutions, whilst the brief efforts of the peasants for vengeance, which were drowned in their own blood, have remained as a stigma flung in the face of the country populations whenever they utter a word claiming some amelioration in their condition. Whence the injustice? The bourgeoisie was victorious and successful. The rural populations were vanquished and trampled upon. The bourgeoisie, therefore, has had its poets, historians, and flatterers, whilst the poor peasant, rude, untutored, and ignorant, never had a lyre nor a voice to bewail his lamentable sorrows and sufferings.

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NOTES IN THE HISTORY OF SIR JEROME ALEXANDER,

Second Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and Founder of the Alexander Library, Trinity College, Dublin.

BY THE REV. CHARLES ROGERS, LL.D., F.S.A. Scot.,
*Historiographer to the Historical Society.**

THE Will of Sir Jerome Alexander, a parchment transcript of which is preserved in the Chief Probate Office, Dublin, is a document of more than ordinary interest; even with its cumbrous repetitions we owe no apology for producing it in full:—

"In the name of God Amen. I, S^r^ Jerome Alexander of the City of Dublin, one of the unprofitable servants of Almighty God, being of a perfect sound disposing memory, praised bee God, this three and twentieth day of March in the yeare of the Raigne of our Soveraigne Lord Charles the Second of that name by the grace of God of England, Scotland, Fraunce and Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c. the two and twentieth, and hereby renounceing and admitting and declareing all former Wills and Testaments by mee at any time heretofore made to bee utterly void & of none effect, doe declare this to bee my last true Will and Testament in manner & form following and doe now soe declare it to bee. And first of all I resigne my soul into the hands of Jesus Christ my blessed Saviour and Redeemer, confidently trusting and assureing myselffe in by and through his onely merritts and mediation to receive life everlasting; and I doe hereby profess myselfe to dye as I have allways lived, a sonne of the Church of England, which is the most absolute and best forme of government in all the world, 'twere to bee heartily wished that it were practised in all the Churches of Christendome, and my body

* In order that all the members of the Society may be enabled to appreciate the valuable supplement to this paper by Mr Prendergast, it has been deemed necessary to reprint the present paper, which appeared in the Transactions, vol. i. pp. 220–240. That volume is entirely out of print, while about one hundred and fifty of the members now on the roll have been unable to obtain copies.

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I commend unto the earth from whence it came to receive decent and comely buryall, without any greate pompe or ceremonies whatsoever, not doubting but at the last day it shall bee raised againe and united unto my soule with it for to partake of immortall and everlasting happiness. And as concerning my worldly estate wherewith the Lord hath blessed me, and hee onely hath bestowed it upon mee against the opposition of many greate and potent enemies, which have sought to destroy mee in my body, goods and good name upon my first entering upon businesse in the world, but I may truely say the Lord hath delivered mee from the cruelty of those that were too mighty for mee; hee broke theire netts and I was delivered. And as God hath beene unto mee a Father & Deliverer soe I have not beene wanting to the best of my power to help others in theire distresse, and in the whole course of my life could never be drawne to serve particular interests against the publicke, which I conceive have beene the chiefe occasion of my troubles and of those sufferings which I have lien under. ITEM I give and bequeath unto John Lanham, Humphrey Lanham, Mary Lanham, and Rose Lanham, children of my daughter Jeromina Lanham to each of them one hundred pounds a peece, if they shall be respectively living at the day of my decease to bee paid to the said John and Humphrey Lanham within one year after my decease. And to be paid unto the said Mary and Rose Lanham at the dayes of theire respective marriages, if they shall first have obtained the good will of my daughter Elizabeth and her consent thereunto first beforehand, or otherwise my bequest to them herein as aforesaid made shall bee void and of none effect, or if either or any of the aforesaid children shall happen to dye and departe this life before the respective dayes of payment theire severall legacies herein aforesaid shall come to bee paid that then such of my legacies to be saved unto the Executrix of this my last Will and Testament and shee to bee absolutely free from the payment of them. ITEM I will and bequeath unto Elizabeth Browne, widdow one other of the daughters of the said Jeromina Lanham the sume of two hundred pounds, which my Executrix hereafter named shall for her use put the same out at interest thereof dureing tearme of her life, and after her decease I will and devise the same unto Elizabeth Browne, the younger daughter of the said Elizabeth Browne the elder to dispose of as shee shall think fitt when she shall attaine unto the age of fifteene yeares if shee should live soe

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long, but if she should departe this life before shee shall attaine unto the said age, or if the said Elizabeth Browne the elder or Elizabeth Browne the younger shall marry or take any man or men to husband without the consent of my said Executrix first had and obtained in writing under her hand and seale in case she shall be then liveing then and in such case these legacies to them given and bequeathed as aforesaid to be utterly void. ITEM I will and bequeath unto my grandchild Rankin Mallech and to Ann his sister and to Alexander & Elizabeth Gorges the sonnes and daughters of my daughter Rose Gorges to each of them respectively five pounds a peece to buy them things for to weare in my remembrance. ITEM I give and bequeath unto my good friend Doctor Jones, Bishop of Kildare, my Pocket Tweesers which I bought at Brussells if he shall be living at the day of my decease. ITEM I give and bequeath unto Mrs Jones, the said Bishop's wife a case of Spectacles that is wrought with gold and the spectacles therein contained for a remembrance of her kindness shown unto mee and my family provided she shall bee then living at the time of my decease. ITEM I give unto the Provost of the Colledge if hee shall be liveing at the day of my decease that my cane which is headed with hatcht gold and have a paire of Tweesers on the top of it to weare for my remembrance,—I intend Mr Seele hereby and noe other to have it. ITEM I give unto Thomas Cooper, the elder, the sume of ten pounds for to bee paid him within one yeare after my decease in case hee shall bee then living, or else to be saved to my Executrix. ITEM I give & bequeath unto Thomas Cooper the younger ten pounds if hee shall bee liveing at the day of my decease or otherwise not. ITEM I give & bequeath unto Richard Shelly my servant the sume of ten pounds if hee shall bee liveing at the day of my decease—these three last mentioned sumes of ten pounds to be paid within one yeare after my decease in case as aforesaid. ITEM I give and bequeath unto my daughter Rose Gorges the sume of fifty pounds wherewith to buy her a ringe to weare for my sake together with fifty pounds more to buy her and her husband and children mournings if she shall bee liveing at the day of my decease, or soe many of them as shall bee then living, provided always she give my Executrix, herein named a generall release of all demands which shee may pretend to my estate real or personall. ITEM I give unto Launcellot Johnson the Lawyer, to whom I have been much beholding, that Brazill Stick of mine with the silver head

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and my sword or hatcht rapier with which his Ma^tie^ was pleased to confer upon mee the honour of Knighthood and ten pounds in money to buy him a ring to weare for my sake. ITEM I give and bequeath to every of my servants men and women that shall be dwelling with mee at the time of my decease a yeares wages over and above their severall salleries that then shall become due unto them for their respective services & employments. ITEM forasmuch as I promised unto George Thomason of London, stationer deceased, to give unto his daughter, my God-daughter Grace Thomason, the sum of one hundred pounds in case the bargaine of land which I bought of him heere in Ireland should prove a good bargaine, and albeit I certainly declare that it hath proved to me a very hard bargaine by reason of the severall suites I have had to recover but parte of it as yett and other disbursements and expenses which I have beene at about the same that I am perswaded that I am rather a looser than a gainer by it, yet for the love and respect which I bore unto the said George Thomason in his life time being my intimate friend I doe give and bequeath unto the said Grace Thomason one hundred pounds if shee shall be liveing at the day of my decease to be paide within one yeare next after my decease. ITEM I will devise & bequeath unto Dorothy Whitaker wife of Henry Whitaker of London, the sume of one hundred pounds to bee paid within one yeare next after my decease, provided allwayes and upon condition that shee procure Mr Henry Hatley of London stationer her son-in-law first to deliver up and out unto my Executrix hereafter named an obligaton or writeing obligatory, wherein I stand bounden unto the said Henry Hatley in trust for the use of the said Dorothy Whitaker conditioned for the payment of five pounds sterling yearly unto the said Dorothy Whitaker during tearme of her naturall life and fifty pounds sterling to whom shee shall by her last Will & Testament devise the same attested and proved by two credible witnesses, which bond being first delivered up to my Executrix for to bee cancelled, then the said hundred pounds to be paid in manner and forme aforesaid. ITEM whereas I am to have certaine lands in reprise set out by his Maj^ties^ late Comm^s^ of Claims but not yet settled and secured out of which the same being three hundred thirty nine acres nineteen perches that I am deficient in all and Christopher Munich his adventure being but two hundred a third part of which is to be cut off according to the severall Acts of Parliam^t^ in that case made and

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provided and retrenched which together with all the coste and charges that I have been at and expended in suites of law & otherwise for recovery of the same and which hath beene merely gained by my industry and the assistance of my friends, I doe now declare that it hath cost mee more than his adventure is worth for recovery of the same into that condition in which it now stands. I am yet dayly threatened with more troubles and suites about the same yet when the same shall be clearly settled and past to me by Letters Pattents amongst the rest of my reprise Lands, which are yet undistinguished, if yet any man or other person or persons shall hereafter appeare legally authorized & empowered by law to demande anything of that subscription it is my minde & meaning and soe I doe will and devise that such party or parties shall be paid by my Executrix hereafter named the sume of one hundred pounds, they makeing his or her demande thereunto first appearing to be legal righteous and iust, and from and after all such things herein as aforesaid named bee first acted made and done for securing the said estate which if they shall refuse to accept then this my devise and bequest to be utterly devoid and frustrate and of none effect. ITEM I give and bequeath unto my daughter Elizabeth Alexander my great Dyamonde Ringe, gold and silver watches and my case of silver instruments which I bought at Bruzells and I verily believe cost me threescore pounds, the very case cost me twelve pounds of the money, which my said Daughter shall enjoy during tearme of her naturall life, and then if shee bee maryed and have children, shee shall dispose thereof unto her eldest daughter if shee have any, or to her eldest sonn if shee have any, but if shee shall dye without issue, in such case I give and bequeath unto Elizabeth Browne, widdow, if shee shall bee liveing or to her daughter Elizabeth Browne if shee, her said Mother be dead, and for want of such issue I give and bequeath the same to be sold and the money that shall arise by the sale thereof to be given and delivered unto the Provost of the Colledge of Dublin for the time being or that hereafter shall bee by him to bee disposed of for the good and benefit of the Colledge in such manner and sorte as hee shall think fitt. ITEM I give and bequeath unto the Protestante Poore of Dublin the sume of ten pounds to bee divided amongst them by my Executrix hereafter named wherein I charge her that no Papist Poore have a farthing thereof, but such poore old Protestants who have outlived their labours and

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are in want and necessity which shee will quickly find out upon enquiry.

"ITEM.—I give and bequeath unto the Provost, Fellowes, and Scholers of the Colledge of the Holy and Undivided Trinnity, of the foundation of Queen Elizabeth Dublin, and to their Successors for ever, all my Books and Manuscripts of Comon, and Civil Law, and Statutes of Divinity, History and of, and concerneing all other Arts and Sciences whatsoever; and all my Books and Pamphlets, bound and unbound in volumes, excepting such Books, and MSS. which concerne physicke or chirurgery, which I give unto my daughter Elizabeth Alexander.

"And it is my minde and meaning, and I doe soe order, direct, and appoint, that by the direction of the Provost of the said Colledge for the time being, or that hereafter shall bee a perfect Catalogue bee made of the said Books &c in writeing, by some one whom the Provost shall name, and appointe with one more to bee named, and added to him by my Executrix, hereafter named, which being once perfected under theire hands, and a duplicate thereof given into the hands of my said Executrix, then, and not before, the said Books &c are to be removed unto the Colledge, to bee kept accordingly.

"ITEM; I give and bequeath unto the Provost, Fellowes and Scholers aforesaid, and to their Successors, the sume of six hundred pounds sterl. good and lawful money of and in England, to bee paid into the hands of the Provost of the said Colledge for the time being, or that hereafter shall bee by my Executrix hereafter named, within one year next after my decease, to bee by him ordered to bee disbursed, and laid out, in makeing an addition to the said Colledge buildings next over against Chichester House; amongst which buildings soe to bee made, I doe order, devise and direct, that a particular Library shall bee built, wherein to place, sett and keepe the said Books, and MSS. herein aforesaid as well as those books which I have heretofore given and delivered unto the said Provost, Fellowes and Scholers aforesaid, as those now herein bequeathed and bestowed upon them; with two convenient lodging rooms to bee contiguous, and next adjoyning to the said Library Keeper for his Lodgings, and, better accommodation, of keeping and secureing of the said Books, and MSS. aforesaid to bee called Alexander's Library and Lodgings; and therefore for this end I give one hundred pounds over and above the five hundred pounds which at first I

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onely intended purposely for building of the said Library, and Lodgings aforesaid.

"And I do further order, and direct, that such Library Keeper, he that shall have the Custody and Keeping of the said Books or shall from time to time, forever hereafter bee nominated and chosen by the Provost and foure of the said Fellowes at least, and always upon the Feaste of the Nativity of our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, commonly called Christmas Day, allways at a convocation then to bee holden for that purpose.

"And it is my further order, and direction, that a perfect Catalogue of the said Books &c. bee at such time delivered unto the said Library Keeper thereof, for to bee appointed as aforesaid by the Provost of the said Colledge for the time being; or that hereafter shall bee under his hand attested. And that the said Library Keeper, soe to bee chosen and appointed as aforesaid, shall under his hand sign a Duplicate thereof, whereby he may bee charged with redelivery of the said Books &c back again; when the time of his said employment shall cease and bee at an end: and that during such time, as he shall bee Library Keeper of the said Books &c. he shall not lend them, or any of them, or permitt or suffer them, or any of them to bee carryed abroad out of the said Library; onely to bee for the use of such as will study and peruse them; to prevent the losse and imbezillment of the said Books &c. being very many of them small and easily pocketted up and yet very scarce, and rarely to be gotten for love or money. These being all the Books of the Comon and Statute Laws of England or Ireland, that I could possibly get, or finde out. And the said Library Keeper shall pay and satisfie unto the Provost, Fellowes and Scholers of the said Colledge five pounds sterl. for every booke that he shall loose, or suffer to bee imbezilled dureing his custody thereof: who shall not continue longer in the said employment, than by three yeares space, unless the Provost, Scholers, and Fellowes of the said Colledge shall think fitt to inlarge his time.

"Item, I will, devise, and bequeath unto the Provost, Fellowes and Scholers of the said Colledge aforesaid by such name, and title, as aforesaid, one Annuity or Rent Charge of foure and twenty pounds p ann. to bee issueing, and goeing forth of all my Lands, lying, and being in the County of Westmeath, to hold unto them, and their successors for ever, with power to enter, and distreyne for non-payment of the rents, issues and profitts thereof: and the distress, and

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distresses, then, and there soe taken, and found, to impound, detaine and keep, prize, & sell according to Law, untill of the said rents, and arrears thereof, if any bee, they shall bee well and truly satisfied, contented, and paid : which said annuity or rent charge aforesaid, I give & bequeath unto the said Provost, Fellowes, and Scholers aforesaid, with this intent, and purpose ; that out of the rents, issues, and profitts of the said Lands thus charged, That they the said Provost, Fellowes, and Scholers of the said Colledge, shall upon every Saturday, in every weeke for ever hereafter, deliver or cause to bee delivered unto ten Protestant poore people towards their reliefe and sustenance one sixpenny loafe of bread att the Colledge Gate, as an almes in kind, or to such, as shall send for it, not being able for to repaire thither through the infirmities, and weaknesses, that are or shall then bee upon them, the said ten poore people, allways to bee nominated by the Provost, Fellowes and Scholers of the said Colledge for the time being, or that hereafter shall bee, still as they decease, that there may be still a supply of poore for to receive the said almes and charity : the said Provost to order & direct the same to bee done, as he shall think fitt.

" And it is my further minde & meaninge, and I doe order, direct, & appointe that upon every Feast day of the Nativity & Birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, comonly called Christmas Day, the said Provost & Fellowes, shall nominate from amongst themselves one able Divine, who shall preach a commemorative sermon, in the said Colledge, where the Provost, Fellowes, & Scholers of the said Colledge shall bee present to hear and observe the same, lauding & magnifying that greate and good God, who as on or about that time, sent his onely sonn the Lord Jesus Christ into the world to suffer for our sins, and that all who believe in Him, may not perish but have everlasting life, with such proofes of the antiquity, and primitive observation of the said Feast, that may encourage men to observe the same with the more alacrity & cheerfullness, and with like reverence, & respect ; For this is the day which the Lord hath made, that we should rejoyce, and be glad therein. And I doe further order, will and direct, that such Preacher, and Preachers, shall out of the rents, issues and profitts of the said Lands, Tenements, and Heriditaments charged with the said Rent-Charge, bee paid Twenty Shillings sterl. for every such sermon, which they shall preach for ever upon the said Feast Day.

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"And I doe further will, devise, order, and direct, that what shall bee made overplus out of the rents, issues, and profitts of the said Lands, Tenements, & Hereditaments soe charged as aforesaid, the said tenn poore people paid, and one sixpenny loafe on every Saturday in the weeke forever given to the poore prisoners of Newgate, and one other to the poore in the hospitall, as aforesaid for ever, which I had allmost forgotten, and the XXs given to the Preachers, as aforesaid, all the residue and overplus of the said 24lb Rent Charge aforesaid, shall yearely and every yeare bee paid unto the Library Keeper of the said Books aforesaid always upon the Feast of the Birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, comonly called Christmas Day, by the Provost, Fellowes, & Scholers of the said Colledge for some recompense for his pains to bee taken in keeping the said Library. ITEM I give & bequeath unto my daughter Elizabeth Alexander my best Dyamond Ring and Golden Watch upon condition that she shall weare them during her life and at her decease to dispose of them to her eldest daughter that shall be then living if she shall have daughters, or to her eldest sonn if she shall have sonns and no daughters, and further as in this my last Will and Testament is declared and appointed. ITEM Provided always and upon condition and it is my minde & meaninge and soe I do herein declare myself that in case the Provost Fellowes & Scholers of the said Colledge shall not accept and enter upon all and every the gifts & bequests to them herein made given and bequeathed as aforesaid within one yeare next after my decease, that then and in such case all and every the same Legacies & Bequests to them as herein is aforesaid made given & bequeathed shall bee utterly void frustrate & of none effect to all intents & purposes in the law whatsoever—anything in this my last Will & Testament to the contrary contained in any wise notwithstanding. And it is my minde and meaninge and I doe humbly intreat the Lord Primate of Ardmagh for the time being or that hereafter shall be, that he will visit the said Colledge or Provost, Fellows & Scholers thereof at such time and times as hee shall think fitt concerning these my legacies & bequests unto them as aforesaid made and given to see how the same are performed according to the true intent & meaninge of this my last Will & Testament and to cause to bee rectified & reformed what hee finds amiss therein or in any the same. ITEM I will devise and bequeath unto my daughter Elizabeth Alexander all that my mannor and Lordship of Killcoole and Kill-

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cooley als. Kilcule lying & being in the county of Tipperary and Baroyne of Slenardagh and Compsey & parish of Killecole with Courts Barrons Courts, Courts Leetes and viewes of Franks Lodge and whatsoever view of Franks Lodge belongeth and appertaineth, fines forfeitures and emblements, Royalties, Liberties, Privileges, Superiorities and authorities and jurisdictions, casments, rights and emoluments whatsoever to the same belonging or in any wise appertaining incident or applement with all Fares, Markets, Tolls, tillages, pickages, wind and watermills with the customes, seals, and tokens thereof, rents of free and customary tenants dues & duties whatsoever of & belonging unto the same, or by any other & whatsoever right and title to use of right accrueing and appertaining together with the abbey & seat of the said abbey of Killcole als. Killcoole als. Kilcully aforesaid, with the Town and Lands of Grayilgissey als Graigilissy lying & being in the barony and county aforesaid with all the lands, tenements & hereditaments whatsoever with all the appurtenances to the same or any of those in any how belonging & appertaining with all meadowes or pastures &c. and all those townes and lands &c. commonly called & known by the name and names of Rathgarret Penstoune, Kilbreny al^{s} Kilbrenan, Castlelost Medean al^{s} Meaden Oldtowne and Highe & Low Garrons, situate & in the Barrony of Tertullagh & county of Westmeath, and all those fourscore & two acres of land lying and being in the towne & feilds of Castlebrack and Balimmin in the Barony of Tinehinch in the Queen's County, and all my freehold lands lying & being in the parish of Killmainhainbegg in the County of Meath, Kells & Ornistowne & whatsoever towne or townes in the counties of East or West Meath &c. within his Majestie's Realms of England or Ireland. To have & to hold the premises unto my said daughter Elizabeth Alexander & to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten or to bee begotten, and for want of such issue to remaine & bee unto the Provost Scholers and Fellowes of the Colledge of Dublin aforesaid & to their successors for ever to be imployed in the increase of so many Fellowes & Poore Schollers of the said Colledge & such other persons' uses as the Rents, Issues & Profitts of the said lands and premises will well beare to bee settled, distributed, divided, & proportioned by the Lord Primate of Ardmagh for the time being, or that hereafter shall bee by & with the Provost & Fellowes of the said Colledge for the time being, or that hereafter shall bee, which

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division and allotment thereof being once for ever settled & established shall abide & soe continue to be performed & observed for ever. ITEM I will devise & bequeath unto my said daughter Elizabeth Alexander all that my lease and tenure of yeares yet to come & unexpired of and in that my dwelling-house &c. in Sheep streete within the suburbs of the Citty of Dublin with all & whatsoever gold or silver coyne, plate, household stuffs and implements of household whatsoever, bedding, linnen, woollen hangings and whatsoever other goods and chattles are now standing and being within the said house &c. ITEM I will devise & bequeath unto my said daughter Elizabeth Alexander all that my lease & of all that the manor and lordship of Killmainhainbegg in the county of Meath &c. standing & being with the townes & lands of Seastowne, Gardenrath & Sydenrath with the Rectories, Glebes, Lands & Tenements of the Geilay & of the Martery thereout & one of the members & hamletts of the same &c. which I give to the said Elizabeth Alexander my sole Executrix & to be sold and with the money ariseing by sale thereof, therewith defray my debts & legacies &c. and the surplusage I give & bequeath unto my said daughter Elizabeth Alexander to do therewithal what she pleases for her owne benefitt & behoofe. ITEM I will devise & bequeath unto my said daughter Elizabeth Alexander all those my other two leases & several leases &c. in those several Towne Landes commonly called i. e. Rahnicult or Rahincenil and Griewbane als Newbane lying & being in the Barony of Tertullagh & county of Westmeath &c. Item, I will devise & bequeath unto my said daughter Elizabeth Alexander all & whatsoever other my mannors, messuages lands, tenements & hereditaments not being herein formerly bequeathed whatsoever & wheresoever situated & to have and to hold as herein is aforesaid &c. gold & silver money, debts, rents, plate, bedding, linnen and woollen household stuff & implements of household whatsoever & implements of & belonging to husbandry whatsoever, horses, mares, geldings, colts & phillies, cowes, calves, oxen sheep and cattle whatsoever &c.

"I doe make my said daughter Elizabeth Alexander my sole Executrix of this my last Will and Testament, provided alwayes, and upon this further condition that my said daughter Elizabeth Alexander shall at any time after my decease marry and take to husband any Lord of Ireland by what name or title soever he beares, or the

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sonn of any such Lord, Nobleman or Noblemen whatsoever or any Archbishopp or Bishopp or Prelate or the son of any Archbishopp Bishopp or Prelate or any Knight Baronett or Knight or Knight & Baronett or Knight Bachelor, Esquire, Gentleman or any Irishman or that comes of an Irish extraction and descent and that have beene borne or bredd in the Kingdome of Irelande and that have his meanes and relations there and his fortune and meanes of substance or with any Papist, or Popish recusant, that then and in such case I doe hereby declare all the Gifts, Legacies and Bequests whatsoever which I have herein given & bequeathed unto the said Elizabeth Alexander as aforesaid to bee utterly void and frustrate to all intents and purposes in the law whatsoever and in such case I doe will and devise all my freehold lands & tenements to her bequeathed as aforesaid to bee and remain unto the Provost Fellowes & Scholers of the said Colledge &c. to hold to them & their successors forever to the use and benefitt of the said Provost & Schollers of the said Colledge for ever with this order & direction that out of the rents, issues and profitts thereof by advice of the Archbishopp of Ardmagh for the time being, the said Provost Fellowes & Scholers shall erect and make foure more Fellowes and foure more poor Scholers to be of the said Colledge and shall endow the said Fellowships with thirty pounds p. ann. a peece for ever and in such case of forfeiture I doe make John Osborne Esq. and Thomas Croe Gentleman Executors of this my last Will & Testament to make doe and pforme all and whatsoever my said daughter should and ought to have done according to the direction of this my last Will & Testament differing only in this that the money to bee raised by the sale of the lease of the mannor of Killmainhainbegg aforesaid, by debts & legacies being quite fully paid and satisfied, whatsoever the overplus that shall bee made by the sale thereof shall be paid and satisfied unto the Provost Scholers and Fellowes of the said Colledge to be ordered & disposed of for the good & benefitt of the said Colledge as with the advice of my said Executors shall be thought fitt, and in such case the lease and interest of my house in Sheepe street alias Ship street to be also sold by my said executors & the money made & arising by the sale thereof to be paid to the Provost, Fellowes & Scholers of the said Colledge and by them with the advice of my Executors to be also disposed of for the good and benefitt of the said Colledge. ITEM, I give & bequeath unto Standish Hartstonge Esq. tenn pounds where-

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withall to buy him a Ringe to wear in remembrance of me his old friend and acquaintance. ITEM, I doe make John Osborne Esq. Thomas Croe gen. and John Rayley of London merchant to be overseers of this my last Will & Testament, and to advise help and assist my said Executrix in performance of this my last Will and Testament, wherein I pray & desire their extraordinary care and assistance, she being heere without alliance & the help of friends. And I give & bequeath unto every of my said assistants twenty pounds ster. a peece wherewith to buy them ringes for to weare in remembrance of mee, and I doubt not but my good friend Master Standish Hartstonge will herein be assistant unto my said Executrix, when he shall have occasion to bee within this citty of Dublin, or elsewhere wherein he may bee helpful to her. And that this is my last Will & Testament I doe now declare that I have written every word thereof with mine owne hand and to have to every leafe of paper thereoff sett my name and affixed my seale & have published the same to bee my last Will & Testament in pursuance of those whose names are hereunto subscribed. Jerome Alexander. Witnessed & published before us, Jo. Nethecote, Chr. Horncastle, Edward Haines.

"A Codicil made by mee. I Jerome Alexander of the citty of Dublin, Knight, Second Justice of his Maj^ties^ Court of Common Pleas in Ireland and written with mine owne hand for some alterations made and to bee made and some additions to bee added unto my last Will & Testament &c." He desires that his house in Ship Street and its contents be turned into account for the benefit of his creditors, and instead of it grants his daughter Elizabeth the manor of Killmainhainbegg for her use and residence. He also gives her absolute power to dispose of his "greate Dyamonds Ringe & Golden Watch without remainder to Elizabeth Brown, widdow & her daughter." He bequeaths £30 instead of £10 to Thomas Cooper the younger, and grants £5 a year to the Vicar of Tellstowne in the county of Meath, and £5 a year to Henry Collingham, clerk, Curate of the parishes of Girley and Marteney. To the Curate of Kells in Meath he bequeaths £5 yearly "for teaching and preaching unto the inhabitants of Killmainhainbegg."

Elizabeth Alexander obtained in the Prerogative Court probate of her father's Will on the 6th of August 1670. The personal history of the testator has hitherto been unsought

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after. Yet the career of one so prosperous—so munificent—so devout, and withal so enslaved by narrow views and unhappy prejudices, seems to claim some attention. In his Will Sir Jerome relates that because of his upholding "public rather than particular interests" he had, at his entrance on official life, been subjected to persecution. On this subject we have some curious details.

Jerome Alexander was connected with the county of Norfolk. His first appearance in the Records is in a *Recognizance*, in which Nicholas Corke, of Watterden, in the county of Norfolk, promises to abide an order of the Court of Chancery in a cause in which Thomas Tayreray is plaintiff and himself defendant. In this Recognizance "Jerome Alexander, of Thorpland, in the county of Norfolk, gentleman," is named as guarantee. This is in 1614.*

On the 3d July 1620, James I. granted letters-patent to Jerome Alexander, bestowing on him the office of "bayliffe of the Hundred of Eynisford, in the county of Norfolk, with all the fees pertaining thereto."† Thus far does Jerome Alexander appear as a county landowner and a district judge. Being a barrister-at-law, he became a pleader in the Star Chamber Courts. And now we make a discovery in relation to the "manye greate and potent enemies which sought to destroy him in body, goods, and good name upon his first entering upon businesse."

Jerome was accused, and in the Star Chamber Court convicted, of falsifying a document, so as to gain a case in which he was plaintiff. On account of this offence he was, on the 17th November 1626, by the Council of the Star Chamber, amerced in a heavy penalty, deprived of his status as a barrister, and sentenced to imprisonment in the Fleet Prison. He secured his personal liberty by escaping to Ireland.

Under the auspices of Edward, second Viscount Conway,‡

* Close Rolls, 11th James I., Part 44, No. 121.

† Warrant Books and Patent Rolls, *passim*.

‡ Conway Papers in the Public Record Office, vol. cclxxxviii., paper 66; also *passim*.

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Jerome was employed in connection with his lordship's estates in Down and Armagh, and in other duties in the province of Ulster. He also practised in the law courts of Dublin. But the sentence of the Star Chamber was a hindrance to his professional advancement, and he used all the means which friendship and money could command to get rid of a decree which, like the sword of Damocles, hung perilously over him. We become first positively informed of these negotiations in 1633, when Jerome sought to avail himself of the presence of Charles I. among his Scottish subjects to secure the royal clemency. The following letter, addressed to a subordinate in the office of Sir John Cooke, Secretary of State, points to what had previously been done on his behalf.*

"SIR,

"Because you are better acquainted with my purse than with my person, I shall make use of noe other sollicitation to spurre you forward to the work you have in hand, and to the effect whereof you have promised your best endeavors. I shalbe better than my word, and you shall fynd I have many friends here who will complie with you in my behalfe to whom I have directed them by my letters as to the guides of the work. I shall say noe more, but pray you good speed, and that is God's speed, for hitherto I am sure I have had but little, but when you and I doe meete in heaven together, I shall let you see a mapp of my miseries and all these blotts wiped away in the interim. If once I become a freeman I may be one that may stand you in better stead than you are aware off. Till when expect better thyngs than what my unfortunities may induce you to believe and be confident you shall find me an honest man, and one that expects your favours and shalbe able hereafter to lett you see the misery of things and nowe and ever to rest

"Your unacquainted

"JEROME ALEXANDER.

"*Dublin, 4th January* 1633.

"I pray let me hear a word or two by this bearer."

The letter is addressed on the back,—"To the Worshipful

* State Papers, Ireland, 1633.

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his very loving friend, Mr Fullwood, Esq., attending on the Right Honl^e. Mr Secretary Cooke, these be in Scotland.—EDDINBROUGH."

Mr Fullwood is reminded by his suitor that he was not altogether unacquainted with "his purse"—a considerable bribe having no doubt reached him; he is also promised further evidence of his petitioner's gratitude in this world, and a token of his penitence in the world to come. But Mr Fullwood did not accomplish the end sought for. During the latter period of 1633 Jerome obtained, through the influence of Lord Arundel, Earl Marshal, the royal license to repair to England. But his enemies were on the alert. On the alleged informality of his not presenting his license to the Lord Deputy of Ireland before leaving Dublin, he was arrested and consigned to the Fleet Prison by Sir Francis Windebank, one of the Secretaries of State, under the authority of the Star Chamber. His petition for liberation is as follows:—*

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

"The humble Petition of Jerome Alexander Esq.

"Humbly showing,—That your Petitioner lieth restrained in ye prison of ye Fleete by ye commitment of the right hon^ble Mr Secretary Windebank by your Majesty's speciall command, for that having your Majesty's license of absence out of Ireland, where your petitioner then resided, directed to ye right hon. ye Lord Deputy to signifie your Majesty's pleasure to your petitioner for that purpose—your petitioner did omit his duty to his Lordship in not first delivering it to his Lordship and in not receiving his Lordship's directions and command therein before your petitioner's departure thence as became him, which he misunderstandingly and ignorantly conceaved to have been a sufficient warrant for his departure, being but a mean man and no officer or plantator there. All which your Petitioner most humbly informeth proceeded not of any wilfull or purposed neglect, or other thing which might in the least as he conceived, show any disrespect to his Lordship, but that being advertised license was sent him in the end he should repair hither with all possible speed and

* State Papers, Ireland, vol. cclxxxii.

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finding a ship ready for this coast, and none likely to come in a good time after, that it also being deep winter and tempestuous weather immediately before and immediately after and then a calm sea on and his Lordship being then out of town and not to return as your Petitioner was informed within three or four days after, your Petitioner wishing to take this opportunity, and of zeal to perform my Lord Marshall's command, for which cause he was sent for, by your Majesty's license with directions that it should be delivered with all speed wherein your Petitioner confesseth that he behaved himself very inconsiderately and justly to have offended.

"For which your Petitioner is truly penitent and humbly beseecheth your most sacred Majesty that his hearty sorrow and punishment of imprisonment may for this one time expiate his offence and that your Highness's innate mercy and forgiveness may now by your gracious direction enlarge your Petitioner from his restraint and further imprisonment. And your Petitioner is bound to pray for your Majesty's most gracious and happy reign over us," etc.

Consequent on this petition Jerome Alexander at length obtained a modification of his sentence—he was released from imprisonment. The royal pardon,* dated at Westminster, the 7th December 1633, begins thus:—

"Charles, &c. Whereas in our Court before our Councill in our Star Chamber, the 17th day of November in the second year of our reign in a cause then late there depending between Jerome Alexander utter Barrister at the lawe Plaintiff against John Yates and other Defendants by judgment of the same Court the said Jerome Alexander was censured for a fowle misdemeanor and offence by him committed in defaceing and blotting out of certaine words out of the copies of certeyne depositions taken in the said cause for his own advantage and end against the said John Yates, whereby our said Court was misledd in their judgement in the censuring and condemning of the said Yates. And therefore it was then ordered, adjudged, and decreed by our said Court that the said Jerome Alexander for this said fowle offence and misdemeanour was well worthie of sharpe and severe punishment for the same and that he should be

* Patent Rolls, 9th Charles I., Part 5, No. 2.

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utterly disabled to practise as a councillor at lawe publicly at the barre or privately in his chamber, paie a fine of £500 and be committed to the Prison of the Fleet, and before his enlargement, should publicly at the barre of our said Court in humble and submissive manner acknowledge his great offence and was further ordered to pay Henry Nevil, clerke of the Court, £50."

The document proceeds to show that John Havers, the prisoner's father-in-law, had declared that Jerome was "in no way able to pay the fine of £500, but that he was personally willing to pay the amount with £50 to the clerk, and that Jerome had carried himself well and uprightlie in Ireland." Then follows an expression of the royal pleasure that Jerome should be relieved from the sentence of imprisonment, but on the distinct understanding that "he should never practise as a Councillor at law in England."

Jerome again visited England in 1637, but not without the royal permission specially conveyed. In August of that year a warrant was delivered to Viscount Wentworth, Lord Deputy of Ireland, in the following terms :—

"CHARLES R.

"Right trusty and right welbeloved Cousin & Counsellor we greet you well. Whereas our Right Trusty and right Welbeloved Cousin & Counsellor Thomas Earl of Arrundell and Surrey, Earl Marshall of England hath especiall occasion for the service and employment of our subject Jerome Alexander who is now residing in that our kingdom, and hath therefore desired us that he may have our especiall license for his repayr hither we doe will and require you that you suffer not any impediment whatever to delay or hinder him in his coming. And likewise that you take course that in his absence he may not receive any loss or damage by any suite or otherwise to be prosecuted against him, concerning him or his estate. And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalfe. Given under our Signett at our Mannor of Oatlands the first day of August in the thirteenth year of our raigne."

Jerome Alexander became a well-employed counsel in the law courts of Dublin. Countenanced by Lord Conway, he

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proved of much service in suggesting legislative measures for restoring tranquillity among British settlers in Ulster. In a lengthened paper, bearing date 1655, he proposed that a Commission should issue from the Irish Chancery, with the Surveyor-General as one of its members. That Commission, he suggested, should determine the boundaries of baronies forfeited by rebels and delinquents since the 25th of March 1639, and should subdivide and allocate the same according to a scheme agreed upon by the Committee of Adventurers.*

To his personal interests Jerome Alexander was not inattentive. From the date of his obtaining the royal pardon he began to invest his savings in the purchase of forfeited lands. On the 26th May 1634, Everage McEvor and Rory McEvor conveyed to Jerome Alexander the town and lands of Bally M'Broghie, and several other lands in the district of Killwarkie and county of Down.† On the 28th September 1635, Jerome paid £53, 6s. 8d. on several "alienations of land" made to him in the county of Down. Other lands were acquired in 1636, and from this period onward, till the time of his decease, he was continually acquiring new possessions, including entire baronies. Among his other acquisitions, he, in 1661, acquired the abbey of Kilcooley in the county of Tipperary.‡

One of the most opulent of the English settlers in Ireland, Jerome Alexander was invited to London in 1660, and on the 18th August of that year was knighted by Charles II. at Whitehall. On the 30th November following he received letters-patent appointing him to the office of Second Justice of the Irish Court of Common Pleas.§ During his latter years he was subjected to considerable trials. His eldest daughter, Jeromina, was cut off; his second daughter lost her husband, and one of his grand-daughters was similarly bereft. On the

* "Adventurers for Lands in Ireland," vol. cccii., Public Record Office, London.

† Patent Rolls: Charles I. Public Record Office, Dublin.

‡ "Prendergast's Cromwellian Settlement in Ireland," 1870; 4to, p. 265. Patent Rolls, 19th April 1661.

§ Patent Roll, Dublin Record Office.

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10th November 1667, he lost his wife, to whom he had been united for nearly half a century. He entombed her remains in St Patrick's Cathedral.*

Sir Jerome completed the preparation of his Will, written with his own hand, on the 23rd March 1670; he expired on the 25th July of that year. His remains were placed in St Patrick's Cathedral,† beside those of his wife. If any tombstone was erected to his memory, it has disappeared.

Elizabeth Alexander did not disobey the conditions of her father's Will in the matter of matrimony. She married Sir William Barker, an English baronet. In the Irish Patent Rolls, under date 22d July 1671, she appears as obtaining a grant of several lands in the baronies of Furtallage and Kelty, in the counties of Westmeath and Meath. As executrix of her father's will, she proceeded in a manner sufficiently decisive. Documents connected with a plea in the Exchequer Court at Dublin show that she had made an attempt to deprive Elizabeth Brown, her niece, of the yearly interest of money bequeathed to her in Sir Jerome's Will. According to the pleadings, it appears that in 1678 Elizabeth Browne, afterwards Button, a widow for the second time, and one of the three daughters of Jeromina, eldest daughter of Sir Jerome and wife of Humphrey Lanham, filed a bill in the Exchequer Court against her aunt, Elizabeth Lady Barker, charging her with withholding payment of the interest of £200, bequeathed to her by her granduncle. To this complaint Lady Barker and her husband responded that they, being displeased with the complainer's second marriage, which took place subsequent to the death of Sir Jerome, were entitled by a clause in his Will to refuse payment of the bequest. It was answered that Lady Barker had, when *femme sole*, not only consented to the second marriage, but promised to increase the legacy and otherwise improve the complainer's estate. The Court gave decree in favour of the complainer.‡

* Funeral Entries in Office of Ulster King of Arms, Dublin Castle.

† Funeral Entries, Dublin Castle.

‡ Memoranda Rolls in Court of Exchequer, Ireland, 31 Charles II.

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Lady Barker died childless. The estates did not long remain in possession of her family. From entries in the Rent Books of the Irish Exchequer it is nearly certain that they were alienated prior to 1710.* Concerning Jeromina, Sir Jerome's eldest daughter, and her descendants, we possess some particulars. She was wife of Humphrey Lanham, and predeceased her father, leaving two sons, John and Humphrey, and three daughters, Mary, Rose, and Elizabeth. Elizabeth married, first, Nicholas Browne, and secondly, John Button. By her first marriage she was mother of one child, Elizabeth, to whom Sir Jerome bequeathed the principal of £200, of which the interest was made payable to her mother during her life.†

Rose, second daughter of Sir Jerome, was twice married. Her first husband was Rawlin Mallech, of Cockington, in the county of Devon. Two children of this marriage, Rankin Mallech and Anne Mallech, received in their grandfather's will a legacy of five pounds each. By her second marriage Rose Alexander became the second wife of Thomas Gorges, of Heavitree, near Exeter, M.P. for Taunton. This marriage was solemnized on the 23d March 1656. The issue consisted of Alexander, born July 29, 1660; Elizabeth, born 16th April 1662; and Edward, who was born 15th May 1666, and died 14th June 1667. Alexander and Elizabeth Gorges received a legacy of five pounds each in Sir Jerome's Will.‡ Thomas Gorges died on the 17th October 1670, and his wife, Mrs Rose Gorges, on the 14th April 1671. A handsome tombstone, adorned with an armorial escutcheon, is placed at their burial-place in the churchyard of Heavitree. The inscription is as follows :—

> "The loving Turtell having mist her mate,
> Beg'd shee might enter, ere they shut the gate;

* Exchequer Rent Books, in the Public Record Office, Dublin.

† Sir Jerome Alexander's Will, and "Pleadings in Exchequer Court," Button *v.* Barker, 1678.

‡ In his Will, dated 1668, Thomas Gorges bequeaths to Sir Jerome Alexander, his father-in-law, £5, and £5 to Elizabeth Alexander, his sister-in-law.

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Their dust here lies, whose soules to Heaven are gone,
And wait, till Angels rowle away the stone." *

By the authorities of Trinity College, Dublin, the directions contained in Sir Jerome Alexander's Will are substantially observed. Indigent persons are every Saturday at the College gate supplied with bread, soup, and meat, along with an allowance of money. They are for the most part persons who have served the students, and it is not certain that any religious test is imposed. The charitable bequest of Sir Jerome Alexander has thus become the basis of a more enlarged charity. The MSS. and books bequeathed by him are preserved in the College Library. The MSS. are kept separately, the press marks being G 3, 1—15, and G 4, 1—14. The printed books are placed among the other books of the library. At the Revolution of 1688 the library suffered very much; and Sir Jerome's bequest of books was considerably interfered with. In 1702 the MSS. were revised, when it appeared that several were missing. Some of these were recovered in 1741 and 1742, when Dr Lyons made a catalogue of MSS. in the College. About that period the MSS. were rebound and rearranged, so that a catalogue printed in 1697 is now of little use. (Catalogi MSS. Angliæ et Hiberniæ, &c., Oxon., 1697.) The special direction respecting the sermon on Christmas Day has not been observed for many years; it has been merged in the general preachership.†

It is unnecessary that we should at any length sum up the character of Sir Jerome Alexander. He probably deplored his early errors. He was prosperous; he belonged‡ to a race

* For these particulars respecting the family of Gorges we are indebted to the Rev. Frederick Brown, of Beckenham.

† For this account of the administration of Sir Jerome's public bequests we are indebted to the Rev. B. Dickson, D.D., Trinity College, Dublin, Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

‡ A careful examination of Patent and Close Rolls, Wills, and other public instruments, warrants the belief that the English family of Alexander is of Jewish origin. During the reigns of James I. and Charles I. such names as Samuel, Michael, Augustine, Paul, Thomas, Matthew, Nathaniel, and Jerome are common to the different branches of the family. The Scottish House of Alexander is a

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with amazing powers of acquiring and accumulating wealth. His prejudices were those of his period, though in an aggravated form. To be a member of the Church of England, as opposed to Romanism or sectarianism, was the symbol of quality in the land of his adoption. The native Irish were a degraded race, and to intermarry with them was to abandon caste and honour—very much as if an American citizen were to unite himself to a blackamoor. To disinherit his youngest and favourite daughter, in the event of her marrying an Irish nobleman or Church dignitary, was going far enough, no doubt,—but strong prejudice, like the force of habit, is seductive. Sir Jerome even refuses a "loaf of bread" to the Romish poor—his charity was to be dispensed to Protestants only. The Blessed One, whose nativity was to be celebrated every Christmas by a sermon to be preached at the Judge's charges, taught differently.

branch of the Macdonalds, and most persons of the name in Ireland are of Scottish origin.

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FURTHER NOTES IN THE HISTORY OF SIR JEROME ALEXANDER.

BY JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, ESQ.,
Honorary Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

IN his paper entitled "Notes in the History of Sir Jerome Alexander, Second Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in Ireland," Dr Rogers has supplied a variety of details in the earlier part of the life of this Judge, which, added to those it has been my lot to pick up, serve to complete his biography. Early in life I happened to meet with a pamphlet in the fine collection of historical works concerning Ireland contained in the Library of King's Inns, Dublin, entitled "True Way to render Ireland Happy and Secure; or a Discourse wherein 'tis shewn that 'tis the Interest both of England and Ireland to encourage Foreign Protestants to Plant in Ireland, 4to. Dublin: Andrew Crook, 1697," in which is the following passage:—

"We cannot so much wonder at this,"—referring to the quick *degenerating* of the English in Ireland, as was called the adopting of the manners of the country,—"when we consider how many there are of the children of Oliver's souldiers in Ireland who cannot speak one word of English. And (which is strange) the same may be said of some of the children of King William's soldiers, who came but 'tother day into the country. This misfortune is owing to the marrying Irish women for want of English, who come not over in so great numbers as the men. 'Tis sure that no Englishman in Ireland knows what his children may be as things are now: They cannot well live in the country without growing Irish; for none take such care as Sir Jerome Alexander, who left his estate to his daughter, but made null the gift if she married an Irishman."

But the author of this true way to render Ireland happy did not go on to say how Sir Jerome understood the term

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"Irishman," as we now know by his Will, which Dr Rogers has done well to print at full length. For Sir Jerome included in the term "any Lord of Ireland, or the son of any such Lord, or any Archbishop, Bishop, or Prelate, or the son of any of them, or any Knight or Baronet, Esquire or Gentleman, or any Irishman, or that comes of an Irish extraction and descent, and that have been born or bred in Ireland, and that have his means & relations there, and his fortune & means of subsistence there, or with any Papist or Popish Recusant."* Twenty years passed by without obtaining any further information about this anti-Irish gentleman, when at length, being engaged to survey the Carte Collection of Historical Papers at Oxford, I found among the vast mass of papers many curious incidents of Sir Jerome's life from the year 1660 till his death in 1670. But I was still without any account of his origin and early history when Dr Rogers' research supplied the wanting information.

By this it appears that Sir Jerome Alexander belonged to the county of Norfolk, was a barrister, and on 17th November 1636 was convicted in the Court of Star Chamber of defacing certain depositions in a case where he himself was plaintiff, and one John Yates defender, whereby the Court was misled in their judgment in their censuring and condemning the said Yates. The Court therefore declared that the said Jerome Alexander, for that foul offence and misdemeanour, was well worthy of sharp and severe punishment, and decreed that he should be utterly disabled to practise as a counsellor at law, either publicly at the bar or privately in his chamber; should pay a fine of £500, and be committed to the Fleet Prison, and, before his enlargement, should publicly, at the bar of the said Court, in humble and submissive manner acknowledge his great offence, and pay to Henry Neville, Clerk of the Court, fifty pounds.† Sir Jerome fled to Ireland, and there (as Dr Rogers shows) was employed by Edward,

* Sir Jerome Alexander's Will.

† See the judgment recited in the King's pardon under the Broad Seal of 7th December 1633. Ibid. p. 235.

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second Viscount Conway, about his estates in Ireland. He endeavoured to obtain the King's pardon while the King was in Scotland in 1633, but failed. However, on the 7th of December in that year, he obtained the coveted instrument through the aid of Lord Arundel, Earl Marshal, and thereby was restored to the privilege of his practice as a barrister in England. This enabled him to employ himself, from the year 1641 till the Restoration, very actively in London as agent and counsellor of the adventurers for rebels' land in Ireland, he himself having also adventured some of his gains in that scheme. Dr Rogers has cited his proposals in 1655, contained in a long paper, for a Commission to be appointed for determining the boundaries of baronies, and subdividing and allocating the forfeited lands amongst the adventurers according to a scheme agreed upon by a committee of that body. But in the Carte Collection his name appears to a great variety of papers emanating from the Adventurers' Committee, showing that he was their chief guide in the management of their affairs.

The influence he had thus acquired with this powerful body contributed much probably, at the King's Restoration, to his advancement to the Bench. On 30th November 1660, he obtained the King's warrant, under Privy Seal, to be made Second Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland, and his appointment was completed by letters patent under the Great Seal on 29th January 1661.* This appointment was not without incidents. It produced a quarrel with a brother Judge concerning precedency, eventuating in Sir Jerome sending a challenge to that learned brother to give him satisfaction in a duel. Sir William Aston, it seems, obtained the King's letter under Privy Seal to be Second Justice of the King's Bench, bearing an earlier date than Sir Jerome to be Second Justice of the Common Pleas; but their patents passed on the same day, and both were sworn together. Thereupon arose a difference—a rivalry for precedence. Sir Jerome published the case in a guarded, polite, and learned

* Roll of 12 Chas. II., 1a pars. face., R. 17.

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manner (says the historian), with his name annexed. To this an anonymous and acrimonious answer was given. It was imputed to Sir William Aston. Patrick Darcy, the distinguished Catholic lawyer,* was sent to Sir William Aston, on Sir Jerome's part, to demand an explanation; and on Sir William's refusal either to deny or retract the offensive publication, a regular challenge followed from the hot-tempered Sir Jerome. Sir William thereupon applied for a criminal information against Sir Jerome, but this application was refused by his brothers of the King's Bench, as Sir William Aston did not deny in his affidavit that he wrote the libel, or was privy to its publication. This brought Darcy upon his shoulders; and Sir William was disabled from visiting his native country until Darcy's death by the terror of a horse-whipping.

The King, it is said, resolved to remove both Sir Jerome and Sir William, and was with difficulty prevailed upon to withhold such just resentment.†

Sir Jerome was soon to be exhibited in two characters—as a Circuit Judge, and as a commissioner or agent, appointed by the Duke of York to manage his affairs in respect of his claims to the lands lately held by the Regicides in Ireland as of the Parliament's gift, in both of which he appears by the following correspondence in the most unamiable light. And first as to his conduct as a Circuit Judge. The Presbyterian party were at the Restoration only a little less odious to the Royalists than the Independents. It was the Scottish Presbyterians that commenced the Rebellion, on the invitation of Pym and others, by marching their army over the border in 1639. Anthony à Wood calls the Civil War "the Presbyterian Rebellion." And it was a common saying that "The Presbyterians brought Charles I.'s head to the block, but the

* Patrick Darcy published "The Case of Tenures," entitled "An Argument delivered by Patrick Darcy, Esq., by Order of the House of Commons in Ireland, 9th June 1641." 8vo. Waterford, 1643. Reprinted at Dublin, 1764.

† "History of the King's Inns," by Bartholomew Dahigs. 8vo. Dublin, 1806. P. 211.

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Independents cut it off." The Presbyterians accordingly suffered much persecution in the North of Ireland for their nonconformity at the Restoration. Thus, on 28th March 1663, on the petition of Robert Ross and George Ross to the Lord-Lieutenant and Council, on behalf of themselves and very many other persons in the counties of Down and Antrim, it appeared that many hundreds in those counties, who were ready to lay down their lives for His Majesty's service, were at the late assizes prosecuted and indicted, some for not coming to hear the Common Prayer, and others for resorting to the ministry they had long been partakers of, little suspecting that in so doing any crime would have been laid to their charge; and they alleged that the consequences of these indictments would be their ruin, and would render them unable to pay the public taxes.* In another petition to the House of Commons, signed by many hundreds, they set forth that their Gospel ministers were taken from them, and several of them imprisoned, whilst the Romish priests (as they alleged) were seemingly tolerated; that many hundreds of them were excommunicated by the Bishops, others of them, upon several penal statutes, indicted at Quarter Sessions and General Gaol Delivery in regard of nonconformity, whereby their utter ruin was threatened, whilst no Papist (against whom these Penal Laws were intended) was in the least troubled.†

Sir Jerome Alexander, who must have himself complied with the times, and have turned Presbyterian when the Parliament in 1644 took the Covenant, and required it to be taken throughout England and Ireland, was considered at the Restoration the severest of the Judges, and was a terror to Nonconformists. The following letters of George Wild, Bishop of Derry, to the Duke of Ormonde, gives his estimate and approval of Sir Jerome's severity:—

"May it please your Grace,

"In obedience to your Grace's commands, I am ready to give your Grace an account of these parts, & how I find them at

* Carte Papers, vol. xxxi. p. 281.

† Carte Papers, vol. xxxii. p. 174.

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present, which is beyond all expectation tacking about to obedience, and to an outward conformity (whatever the inward be), which I humbly conceive is much owing to the prudent authorities & managing of our assizes by the Judge of this circuit, Sir Jerome Alexander, whose coming among us a second time (for which great favour I am especially most humbly bound to the Earl of Orrery) hath struck such an awe among my nonconforming Scots, that if now they do not love him and the Government, yet they begin to fear both.

"And I doubt not but if your Grace will be pleased to continue him once or twice more this circuit (for which his presence is most necessary, though he deserve a better), your Grace will shortly see our remoter Ulster of a pretty sound complexion.

"As soon as the Judge was gone hence the Bishop began his visitation, and if your Grace will pardon the boldness of this account to your Lordship which I owe to my Primate, my heart is much lightened by seeing such full appearance of church officers, who all readily and (it seemed) cheerfully took their oaths and the Bishop's articles for conformity. Yet I dare not commend this county and my diocese over fast; Judge Alexander is but newly gone; and the assizes & visitation sound yet in the ear.

"However we have now two good standing companies of foot in this city, which are commanded by two good special officers that have a long while given me proof & testimony of their loyalty & zeal to the King & the Church (Captain Case & Lieutenant Evelyn).

"And besides we have a troop in this county (I cannot say any part of it in this city, 'tis so ill an horse quarter), all which are and will be ready (the more upon any the least orders from your Grace) to assist the Bishop in suppressing those night conventicles still among us, and those unlawful assemblies which use to grow from schism in the Church to sedition in the State.

"The blessings of Almighty God be ever upon your Grace, and upon your illustrious family.

"I most humbly take leave.

"May it please your Grace,

"Your Grace's most obedient dutiful servant,

GEO. [WILD] DERENSIS."

"Derry, August 22, 1662."*

* Carte Papers, xlv. 68. Addressed to "The most illustrious James Duke of Ormonde, Lord Lieut.-General of Ireland, most humbly."

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But these repressive measures failed to secure permanent conformity. On the 24th of October in the same year the Bishop again regrets that Sir Jerome's vigorous proceedings are only temporary in their effects.

"May it please your Grace,

"I received your Grace's of the 16th instant, and with all humility return your Grace my thanks for the honour you have done me under your Grace's own hand.

"My most noble Lord, it is the joy of my soul to find these parts so much in your Grace's thoughts and princely care; which (with all submission be it spoken) I think are as great concern at present as any corner in the three kingdoms.

"I acquainted your Grace in my last what hopes I had upon Judge Alexander being here, of this county & diocese, that they would return to their obedience.

"But I find since (I beseech your Grace to forgive me my misfortune that I have no better news to send) it was but a fit and qualm of loyalty & conforming that takes us once in half a year against an assize; but as soon as the Judge is gone we are as we were,—I wish at present not worse. For libels have been scattered about, and a large one set up at a market place in ugly (Scotch) rhymes, a copy whereof I sent to my Lord Primate. It seems they depend much upon their agents (as they call them) at Dublin, and do more than whisper their hopes of a change. But I bless God for your Grace's vigilant eye over us.

"As for the officers and soldiers of which your Grace requires a free & impartial account from me, truly my Lord I think the two commanders of them here, Captain-Lieutenant Case and Lieutenant Evelyn, are very loyal persons and very well-bred gentlemen. I have had great proofs of them. And I have heard them say (I know to whom I speak the secret) they can command their company, every man of them, to march for the King and the Church, though their Colonel (no friend I am sure to bishops) and Lieutenant-Colonel should stand by and command the contrary."

The Bishop concludes with the character of the Governor, who he thinks is no other but a loyal very honest gentleman,

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and withal, being so much an Englishman as he is, not to be feared to side with the Scotch faction.*

In 1664, Sir Jerome was using the influence of his friend Colonel Massey, an intimate of the King's, to obtain promotion. The Duke of Ormonde had evidently no desire to appoint him, and gives the following character of him in a letter (dated 20th February 1664) to the Earl of Clarendon:—

"You may be spoken to for Sir Jerome Alexander to succeed the Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas when he dies. You know what he has been. All I can say is, that he is taken for a severe Judge on the circuits. For aught I know, he carries himself well. What his reputation for learning or honesty is in England, you know best—or may know. Massey is his great friend, and has got the King to recommend him to me; and I have put him off to you." †

In 1666 there was a capture made of Leinster Tories. Ormonde thus writes to the Earl of Orrery of the event, and of the pleasant prospect before the prisoners with Sir Jerome for their judge:—

"I hope, by the diligence of Captain Martin, Sir Theophilus Jones, officer, who hath taken about a dozen Tories, that the knot of them in Leinster, and upon the borders of Ulster, is pretty well broken—or will be by the time Sir Jerome Alexander, who has a special commission to try, and a very special inclination to hang them, shall have done with them." ‡

And Lord Orrery uses the expression "Alexandered," as equivalent to hanged. § But a more special instance of his ill-disposition was the refusing to accept the Ordinary's return

* Carte Papers, xlv. 70. Dated Derry, Oct. 24, 1662. Endorsed by Ormonde—"Bp of Derry. Dated 24 Oct. / Recd. 2 Nov. } 1662."

† Carte Papers, vol. cxliii. p. 273.

‡ Duke of Ormonde to the Earl of Orrery. Carte Papers, vol. xlviii. p. 52e.

§ "I thank God the robbers in this province are suppressed. I hear not of one these three weeks. Many I have taken, and keep in jail against the assizes, where I hope they will be 'Alexandered.'"—*Orrery to Ormonde*, 18th April 1666. "A Collection of the State Letters of Roger Boyle, First Earl of Orrery, Lord President of Munster from the Restoration to the year 1668." 2 vols. 8vo. Dublin, 1743. 1st vol. p. 275.

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of "*Legit*," whereby the ignorant prisoner found guilty of a clergy-able felony obtained the pardon of his life on a first conviction, called "The Benefit of Clergy," by the humane connivance of the Judge and the clergyman in attendance in court, who instructed him to read the first words of the Lord's Prayer, and then announced to the Judge that he could read. The following petition exhibits Sir Jerome in this most unamiable—indeed, cruel light:—

"To his Grace, the Duke of Ormonde,
"Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

"The humble petition of TURLOUGH M'ENTEE,

"Humbly showeth, that your petitioner, being accused of stealing a cow, was, upon his late trial before the Honourable Sir Jerome Alexander at Trim, found guilty; whereupon your petitioner craved the benefit of his clergie; and being set to read the Lord's Prayer, did pronounce so much thereof as caused the Ordinary then attending the court to express '*Legit.*' Nevertheless, the said Judge turned a psalm to your petitioner, which, because he could not read, sentence of death was given against him, to be executed on Wednesday next. Now, for as much as the Ordinary hath certified a '*Legit*,' as is before mentioned, and that the said Sir Jerome is gone further into the country, so remote as that your petitioner cannot possibly procure a report from him upon any reference to be by your Grace made unto him so soon as to prevent your petitioner suffering death at the time appointed for it, your petitioner prays a reprieval till the next assizes for the county of Meath, now near at hand, to the end he may have time to solicit the said Sir Jerome's certificate." *

But we have now to turn from Sir Jerome in his character of Judge, to view his conduct as chief agent and manager of the Duke of York's concerns in the Court of Claims.

By the Act for the Settlement of Ireland, passed in the year 1662, the estates of Cromwell, Ireton, Jones, Axtell, and all other Regicides in Ireland, were given to the Duke of York.†

These lands were for the most part the estates of those Irish officers and gentlemen who, with 40,000 of their countrymen,

* Carte Papers, vol. cliv. p. 19.
† 14 and 15 Charles II., chap. 2d. sec. 188.

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were transported by the Commonwealth Government to Spain, for the service of that King, then in amity with the Commonwealth. No sooner, however, did Cardinal Mazarin espouse the cause of Charles II., than, at his Majesty's orders, they came over to join the King of France's forces, still continuing to bear King Charles II.'s English ensigns, and acknowledging him as their liege lord. It was this conduct that made the King say of them, in his Declaration for the Settlement of Ireland of the 30th November 1660, that "he must always remember the great affection they showed him during the time of his being beyond the seas, when, with all cheerfulness, they obeyed his orders, and betook themselves to that service which he directed as most convenient and behoofeful to him at that time, though attended with inconvenience enough to themselves, and he promised them, for this their demeanour, his protection, justice, and favour."*

But the Cromwellians, the framers of the Settlement, according to their policy of buying up all powerful persons, and giving them an interest in the Act of Settlement, which inflicted so much injury on the King's Irish friends, by that Act gave the Regicides' lands to the Duke of York.

"And lest he should be awakened (says a contemporary historian) with the outcries of his unfortunate fellow-soldiers and sufferers (for he commanded a regiment of them), they gave him all the lands given to the Regicides as a reward for their iniquity, and by this contrivance lopped off the hand of H.R.H. from giving them assistance, which they might very well have hoped would be their sword and buckler too. And he gave not one foot of it to the old proprietors, though several concluded that he purposely got it to relieve those distressed soldiers that served under him in the Low Countries."†

So far from giving back any, he insisted on being reprised out of others of his poor fellow-soldiers' lands for any lands of the Regicides he lost by the King's pardon of their forfeiture. Thus, the King having given Mr Wallop's estate (though Mr

* Clause 4 of the King's Declaration, embodied in 14 and 15 Car. II. c. 2.

† "Plunket's History." Carte Papers, vol. lxiv. pp. 189-206.

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Wallop himself was kept prisoner for life in the Tower) to the Earl of Southampton and two other trustees, in trust for the benefit of Mr Wallop's wife and children, Mr Wallop having married Lady Anne Wriothesly, the Earl's sister, the Duke claimed, in reprisal for the loss of these 10,000 acres in Wexford, lands in the counties of Dublin and Lowth. The Duke of Ormonde, Lord-Lieutenant, in a letter to the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor (11th October 1662), urges him to move his Royal Highness to have compassion on these poor officers. He says, "It falls out that, under countenance of the Duke of York's grant, many persons that I am sure he would restore to their own, or at least make his tenants, if he knew their case, will be absolutely ruined, and their families. It is true, if the grant were not the Duke's, it might so fare with them; but I should think that those that fell into his hands should be in better case than those that have to do with the most hard-hearted adventurer or soldier, especially if they suffer by the severity of the Act, or only for want of reprisals; and it may be worthy of your relation to him, and concernment in the prosperity of his posterity, to propose some moderation in such cases." Instead of doing so, the Duke employed, through Dr Gorges (a kinsman of the Earl of Clarendon), the manager of his Irish affairs, the most unscrupulous agents, chief of whom were Sir Jerome Alexander and Captain Robert Thornhill. Of these men Lord Ormonde writes to Mr Matthew Wren, the Duke's secretary, in a letter dated Dublin, 24th December 1668, as follows:—"The truth is (and I am to ask the Duke pardon for not having said it sooner), the Doctor (Gorges) has all along managed H.R.H.'s concernments in this kingdom by the worst under-instruments he could well light on; and, to be plain, I mean by advisers, Judge Alexander and Mr Shapcott, and by under-instruments, one Thornhill, Townly, Dunbavin, and others, fellows of notorious infamy, even amongst those who had been of their own party, by whose means multitudes of all sorts of persons have been put to extraordinary vexation and charge, without the least advantage or profit to the Duke, and with as much reflection on his honour as it could receive,

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by the abuse of his name against the known nobleness of his nature."*

In describing Captain Thornhill as one of those of notorious infamy, even amongst those who had been of their own party, the Duke of Ormonde probably alluded to what had taken place in 1659, just at the close (as may be observed) of the Cromwellian rule in Ireland. At this time the Cromwellian "grandees" were preparing to join in the restoration of the monarchy on the terms of being secured in their possessions in Ireland: Thornhill was for the maintenance of the Commonwealth. This rendered him odious to the party then in power; and though this temper may have possibly tinged the following order, yet there were good grounds, no doubt, for the main facts. It is an Order of Reference, of 21st October 1659, of the Commissioners of Parliament for the Government of Ireland to six persons, officers of the army (or any three of them) stationed in the county of Wexford, to inquire into and report upon the conduct of Captain Robert Thornhill, guilty, as the Commissioners had been informed, of the following misdemeanours, rendering him, if true, incapable of continuing in his command in the militia—viz., 1st, his being cashiered the army for cheating and other misdemeanours; 2dly, his being ejected the Anabaptist Church, of whose judgment he professes himself to be, undoubtedly not without some great offence; 3dly, his giving out his hopes to get the troop into the army, whereby the gentlemen of the county were fearful lest their servants should be engaged farther from them; 4thly, his endeavour to render most of the gentlemen of that county disaffected to the late Government, because they would not sign a representation of his drawing to his Highness, wherein he used such terms to ingratiate himself that they could no ways own, "as that his Highness was canonised in heaven for his works' sake;" 5thly, his being a common liar; 6thly, his dissuading the Irish from coming to church; 7thly, his receiving Irish Papists

* Carte Papers, vol. xlix. p. 302.

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into the militia troop, and, as it is said, transplantable persons." *

Their chief business was to assert the Duke's title in the Court of Claims to such lands as had been confiscated from the Irish by the Commonwealth, and granted by the Parliament or by the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland appointed by the Parliament, to the Regicides, or to reprisals for such as were restored to the Irish. Under Sir Jerome's directions, these agents resorted to the basest practices in the prosecution of the Duke's claims.

The following letters of Colonel Edward Cooke, one of the five Commissioners for executing the Act of Settlement, to the Duke of Ormonde, give a lively picture of the conduct of the Duke's agents and of the times. The other four Commissioners were Sir Edward Smythe, Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland, Sir Edward Deering, Sir Winston Churchill (father of John Duke of Marlborough), and Sir Allan Brodrick. The Duke's "debt," so often spoken of in these letters, was the amount of land claimed by him; his "credit" meant the confiscated land applicable to satisfy it. The delays caused by his agents were ruinous to other claimants, for the Court could not sit after the 3d January 1669, as the utmost limit for their sitting was three years from the time of opening the Court, which took place on the 4th of January 1666. Meantime, the Duke of York's agents not merely seized lands to which the Duke had no proper claim, but also placed every delay they could to H.R.H.'s claim being brought to a hearing; one object, among others, being, that they might have the making of leases from year to year during their custody of them, for the sake of the gifts and fees made to them as agents upon the lettings.†

"My Lord (writes Colonel Edward Cooke to Ormonde),—We have spent this whole day in adjusting the debt and credit of H.R.H.; and though we cannot say we have completed the whole, because

* Books of the Commissioners of Parliament for the Affairs of Ireland, A. 17, p. 78.

† Col. Edward Cooke to the Duke of Ormonde, May 19, 1688. Carte Papers, vol. ccxv. p. 235.

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there are some inconsiderable particulars wherein Mr Taylor (our sub-Commissioner) and Captain Thornhill differ in computations, yet we have so much fairly before us as to convince us what that mystery of iniquity is that hath occasioned all our delay and trouble. We find (as his own agents confess) that H.R.H. has already passed in three certificates (or decrees) above 77,000 acres (plantation measure), and that his clear debt requires no other satisfaction. Yet Sir Jerome Alexander affirms that the King's letter to him positively requires his demanding the satisfaction for it, which amounts in all to under 30,000 acres. So that, should all this be respited (for which there is neither law nor reason), yet is there above 60,000 acres that hath been for above twelve months in the possession of H.R.H.'s agents, without any manner of colour for it. So that this vexatious appeal that has given H.M. so much trouble, so delayed H.R.H.'s business, so obstructed the settlement of this nation, so persecuted the Commissioners, so inflamed the Parliament, hath only been for filthy lucre's sake,—that H.R.H.'s agents might all the while scrape the benefit of above 90,000 acres to their own use. Besides all this, one circumstance is very remarkable,—they have delayed it till May Day is past, because they might make leases for all the next ensuing year, they exacting at least 20s. each lease, which itself, for these 90,000 acres, will amount to at least £1000. And thus we (the Commissioners) are traduced, this poor nation worried (by the worst of wolves that ever came into it), H.R.H.'s name prostituted, and his sacred Majesty importuned into extremities, and all to enrich the arrantest miscreants of this nation (if not of the whole worlds).

"I remain, your Grace's, &c.,

"EDWARD COOKE."*

In the next letter Colonel Cooke seems nearly wrought to madness by the cries and murmurs of the claimants, delayed by the manœuvres of the Duke's agents. The time was now drawing to a close, and if they were not heard before the 3d January 1669, they could not be heard at all. The following is his letter to the Duke of Ormonde:—

"May 20th 1668.

"MY LORD,

"Since my last to your Lordship, we have been able to make but

* Carte Papers, vol. ccxv., p. 235.

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little way in our affairs, for the major part of our number will not proceed without Sir Jerome will give his consent, and he will not consent. Sir Jerome has been twice this week in person in our Court—on Tuesday, in a concern of his own; and yesterday was with us on H.R.H.'s behalf; both times, and in both cases, pressing so immodestly for unreasonable things, that he put the Court in some heat, and himself broke forth into some flames of passion. Certainly never any Judge was made up of such a composition. He told my brother (Mr Myles Cooke, a barrister), for nothing but modestly presenting his client's right, that if he had him in his Court he would make a public example of him. He is easily provoked, and very unsufferable when in his passion. He was heard to forswear coming any more into the Court. But those are but words, of course. I find the Bar (both clients and counsel) in very high dissatisfaction with him, not only for delaying us and them, but also with us, for permitting him to do it. For Monday was appointed peremptorily, and then put off till Tuesday. Then Sir Jerome appeared not; pretended indisposition. Yesterday he came, but had retained no counsel—pretended he could get none; and I am somewhat of that opinion, what with his indecent behaviour towards them, and the unreasonableness of the demands he would put them upon, and the niggardliness of his rewards for their pains.

"All the lawyers find excuses, even Colonel Shapcott himself. So that my Lord Chief-Justice (to some of our dissatisfactions) did publicly offer to assign him counsel (but that was too pauper-like for the quality of his master). By this it may easily be inferred how very much the Duke's business impairs by his agents' practices, which seriously may have a very fatal consequence.

"The murmurs and repinings daily increase, that whole families are reduced to penury by the delays these agents put upon all causes they are concerned in; and in few but they will interweave themselves.

"Seriously, my Lord, it grieves my very heart to see such a pack of infamous persons so supported by their dependence on so honourable a person, whose honour, as much as in them lies, they daily wound, as if H.R.H.'s happiness in this world and in that to come were concerned in a few Irish houses, torn from necessitous persons, and to the endangering of perjury in those that shall judge it.

"The poor people insisting upon their titles, because the legality

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thereof is as clear as the sun, and out of which there is no other way to evict them, but either by tiring them out with delays, or beggaring of them. I held myself bound in conscience, being wounded by the cries for justice, to demand the question, whether we should proceed, the day being peremptorily appointed (and that by Sir Jerome himself), without his consent?

"For we know the law in the case as well as they can tell us, and will be as tender of H.R.H. as they can justly desire us. But Sir Edward Deering and I were out-voted, and so I believe we shall always be.

"I remain, your Grace's, &c.,

"EDWARD COOKE."*

The Commissioners of the Court of Claims now made attempts to force the Duke of York's agents to bring his claims to a conclusion. They gave directions to Mr Taylor, their sub-Commissioner, to prepare lists of lands for the Duke's reprisal, whether H.R.H.'s agents should attend or not. Sir Winston Churchill had attacked the Duke of York's agents for their fraudulent conduct; and Captain Thornhill, as their champion, with the design of browbeating Sir Winston, and forcing him to retract his charges, waited on this Commissioner at his chambers. It will be seen, in the following letter of Colonel Cooke's, with what spirit, with what passion even, Sir Winston, instead of retracting, repeated them, threatening, moreover, to kick the Captain down the stairs:—

"Dublin, 6th June 1668.

"MY LORD,

"Though little hath happened since my last, yet of that little, I presume, it is my duty to present your Grace with an account. Notwithstanding the positiveness of our former orders, in H.R.H.'s case, should retrench sometimes a greater number of acres, sometimes a less, yet hath not one acre been so. Nay, daily complaints come in (offered upon oath) that H.R.H.'s agents proceed to set leases of almost all the lands in the stock. But seeing all other expedients have proved frivolous, though we have re-heard all pretensions, and passed adjudications upon them, that they are left without anything

* Carte Papers, vol. ccxv., p. 234.

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further to offer, as the Captain himself could not deny, and yet no one order is obeyed, we have this day directed our sub-Commissioner, Mr Taylor, by Monday, to bring us a list of 30,000 acres, extracted out of the Duke's two lists, which he can discover to be either incumbered, or least valuable, and given direction that he shall be guided by Captain Thornhill in the choice, if he think fit to assist him. And against Wednesday morning he is to draw out 30,000 acres more, so that by Thursday morning all the Adventurers in Ireland will be completely satisfied, and so many of the souldiers as there is valuable land to accommodate them with.

"One unlucky passage happened on Thursday morning on the Bench. Thornhill's impudence having given some provocation to my brother Churchill's passion, it vented itself on the Duke's agents in general, calling them all a pack of knaves and cheats, that daily betrayed their master. And though this is bad enough, yet worse is to come; for the subtlety of the Judge (and of the serpent also, I think) was joined to the craft of the Captain, to provoke Sir Winston yet further into a kind of premunire; and the Captain directed a visit to my brother Churchill, at his chamber, in the afternoon, and desired to speak with him, and having audience, told him how much he suffered by what he said in open Court, and desired to know who he meant by the 'Duke's agents?' The other hotly replied, 'What! are you come to challenge and hector me? I meant you!' The other replied, 'The words were "the Duke's agents,"—that it could not be he only meant me?' 'No!' said Sir Winston,—'I intended you and Dr Gorges, and the whole pack of you!' 'Sir,' said Thornhill, 'will you give it under your hand that I'm a knave?' 'Alas!' replied Churchill, 'how long is it since you became so squeasy stomached that you could not brook being called knave? You shall have it under my hand,' and called his man to fetch pen and ink. But the whilst, the Captain took an occasion to proceed in temptation, and told him Sir Jerome was the Duke's chief agent. He presumed he durst not call him so. 'Yes!' in passion replied the Knight, 'he's the chief knave, and so I can prove you all;' and with that directed the Captain to the stairs, who, seeing the necessity of either running down the stairs, or being thrown down, as the least of the two sorts, elected the former. We expected, hereupon, that a public complaint would have followed. We find a far different and composed out-of-countenance temper in the man of war, by which I the more suppose

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mischief is brewing For though yesterday and to-day many provocations were offered on Sir Winston's part in open Court, contrary to the late custom, all have been borne with great patience.

"Your Grace's, &c.,

"EDWARD COOKE." *

Having thus exhibited Sir Jerome as a Judge, and then as manager of the Duke of York's claims before the Commissioners for executing the Act of Settlement, he will lastly be shown as suitor himself for the lands he claimed in Ireland. The incidents attending Sir Jerome's claim will serve to give some idea of the troubled state of Ireland during the period of the Rebellion of 1641, and of the conflicts that arose at the Restoration, out of the changes in landed property during the Cromwellian era, and the attempted re-settlement of the claims of the opposing parties at the King's return. Before the period of 1641, however, Sir Jerome had become possessed of lands in Ireland. On 9th December 1636, Sir Jerome Alexander purchased the manor and mansion-house, and site of the late dissolved Abbey of Kilcooley, from the Earl of Ormonde. Five years afterwards, 23d of October 1641, broke out the great Irish Rebellion, and three-fourths of Ireland threw off the English yoke; and Kilcooley, situated not many miles from Kilkenny, the capital of the confederate Catholics, fell, of course, under their sway, and was restored to the Cistercian monks after a possession by the Earls of Ormonde of one hundred years. In 1649, Ormonde, being Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland for King Charles II., and commanding an army consisting of Protestant Royalists, under the leading of Murrogh O'Brien, Earl of Inchiquin, and of confederate Catholics, commanded by General Preston (made soon afterwards by King Charles II., Viscount Tara), and of native Irish, commanded by Sir Phelim O'Neil and Owen Roe O'Neil, opposed the progress of the English rebels, led by Cromwell. The support of these forces became a terrible burden on a country wasted during seven years by a fearful civil war. In

* Carte Papers, vol. ccxv. p. 241.

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March 1649, part of Inchiquin's forces were directed by Ormonde to take up their quarters at the town of Killenaule and in Kilcooley; but the Abbot, then in possession of the ancient Abbey, contrived to take the thorn out of his own foot, and to plant it in his neighbour's, Lord Ikerrin's, as appears by Lord Ikerrin's petition:—

"*The Humble Petition of the Lord Viscount Ikerrin to the Marquis of Ormonde, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.*

"*Humbly Showeth,*

"That whereas a partie of might of Insequin's officers and souldiers lately came to Slieveardagh, and had orders to quarter at Killenaule and Kilcooley, that the said partie at Kilcooley were removed without orders thence, and quartered upon your petitioner's house and lands of Clonomileor (where your petitioner has no tenants), and upon other parts thereabouts. And whereas, upon the Abbot of Kilcooley's petition, he obtained order this day for removing those of the said partie that are yet at Kilcooley unto your suppliant's lands of Fennior, your petitioner, in regard of the great and many levies lately paid by him out of his waste lands, and most or all the lands he hath in the said barony of Slieveardagh, being by the thoroughfare of souldiers, and encamping thereon, wasted, may your Excellency therefore be pleased to give order for the removing of the said souldiers from Clonmileor, Fennior, and the rest of his lands in Slieveardagh, to such other places as have not suffered so much, and where they may be better quartered."*

The following year all these questions were set at rest; Cromwell having gained complete possession of the country in the neighbourhood of Kilkenny, and there can be little doubt but that Sir Jerome Alexander, who was actively employed in the behalf of the Adventurers and the Parliament, was soon after restored to the possession of Kilcooley.

At the Restoration, he obtained the King's letter under the Privy Seal for a patent, releasing the lands of Kilcooley from the burdensome tenure *in capite*, and from their liability to

* Carte Papers, vol. clv. p. 43.

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any further rent than ten shillings per acre for the part in his possession, and regranting them to him on these new and improved conditions.*

But Sir Jerome, as shown by Dr Rogers, was possessed of lands in the barony of Fertullagh, in the county of Westmeath, as well as in the county of Tipperary. His dealings in respect of the acquisitions he made in the county of Westmeath will serve further to exhibit the distractions of the country. Among the "Irish" driven from their possessions in the county of Westmeath by the Cromwellians were the Anglo-Norman family of the D'Arcys, settled there from the days of the first Conquest with the Tuites, Petits, and others of French descent, followers of De Lacy, who received from Strongbow the kingdom of Meath (not yet divided into Eastmeath and Westmeath.) †

The D'Arcy estate consisted of the lands of Gurteen, Gaynestown, Cloonmoyle, Rathgarrah, Caverstown, Fonbeg, Tyrrelstown, Lyan, and Rathduff; and the whole, except the two latter denominations, had been set out to the adventurers, with all other lands formerly possessed by the Irish in the barony of Fertullagh, which barony, on the division of the county of Westmeath between the adventurers and the Cromwellian soldiery, fell by lot to the adventurers. Lyan and Rathduff seem to have been by some means laid aside, and instead of being in the hands of adventurers at the Restoration, like the rest of the estate, were possessed by Lieutenant Denis Brown, collector of land-rents under Cromwell. To the rest of the estate, Sir Jerome Alexander laid claim, as having purchased the rights of certain adventurers to whom it had fallen. The lands had formerly belonged to the D'Arcys and had been settled in the usual form of entail, the heir-entail in remainder being Nicholas D'Arcy, who, being a child at the outbreak of 1641, was an innocent Papist,

* Letter of King Charles II., under Privy Seal, Whitehall, 16th Feb. 1660-1. Carte Papers, vol. xli. p. 332.

† This took place in the reign of King Henry VIII.

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entitled to be restored, under a decree of the Court of Claims, to his remainder. His father, however, who had been tenant for life, being still alive, and his life estate forfeited, Nicholas D'Arcy could only be restored to a remainder-expectant on his father's death; and even for this he must wait till the Commissioners should sit. Meantime the adventurers and soldiers were guaranteed by the King's declaration of 30th November 1660 for the settlement of Ireland, in the possession of all such lands as they held on May 1659. Nicholas D'Arcy at the Restoration was starving, and might die of hunger, perhaps, before he got his decree—or even if he lived to get his decree, might be dead before his father died. But there was one chance—the lands of Lyan and Rathduff. These were not in the hands of adventurers or soldiers, and might be given to him for his support, and the support, perhaps, of a starving father, mother, and sisters. He accordingly petitioned the Duke of Ormonde, as an innocent Papist, for the temporary possession of these lands. But he was met by Cornet Edmund Nangle, who petitioned for them as his discovery, that is, as lands forfeited during the Rebellion, and properly belonging to the Crown; and he was rewarded for his zeal by a custodiam or temporary lease of them. Sir Jerome Alexander, however, obtained a similar grant of the lands behind Nangle's back (as Nangle alleged), pretending that Lyan and Rathduff were purchased by him, though he afterwards altered his title to that of Discoverer. Nangle, thus ousted by the tricks of Jerome, became furious.

He had formerly been (as Ormonde said) a fanatic. He had been Clerk of the Peace under Cromwell for the county of Longford. He was sued at the Restoration for three sums of money drawn down in the Exchequer into the county of Longford, where he resided, one of these being £30 due by him as Clerk of the Peace of that county in 1657 and 1658, which he denied.* He now turned proselyte to Rome in

* Petition of Edmund Nangle, cornet to Sir Arthur Forbes's troop, to the Barons of the Exchequer, 13th February 1663-4. Carte Papers, vol. clix. p. 133.

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order to qualify himself to join Colonel Dudley Costello, the head of the Connaught Tories, then out in open action in Leitrim. When Sir Arthur Forbes first reported this disturbance to Lord Ormonde, he reproved him for calling Nangle's "rambling from his debts and from his wits, rebellion." "He didn't wish every idle fellow's talk should be ground for taking arms and giving terror to the people of all the three nations."* Ormonde, however, was mistaken. Nangle and Costello together made a formidable body. In June 1666, when Sir Arthur Forbes went to seek him in Leitrim, he retired to the mountain of Slieve-an-Erin, thence to the county of Longford, where Sir Arthur hunted him in the woods that divided Leitrim and Cavan. Sir Francis Hamilton drew Colonel Coote's foot company from Belturbet to Kelleshandra to join with his own troop, and sent to get what British he could into his Castle of Kelleshandra; and the inhabitants of Belturbet retired into the old church walls, and made themselves a small fortification for their security.† On the 15th of July 1666, however, Nangle and his party attacked Longford, where Lord Aungier's troop was quartered. The following extract from the *London Gazette* gives an account of the event:—

"DUBLIN, *July* 19, 1666.

"On the thirteenth instant Cornet Nangle, getting to the head of near 200 Tories, fell upon the town of Longford, where the Lord Aungier has an house, and where part of his troop were then quartered. Twenty-five of their horses they surprised as they were grazing, killing four of those English that resisted, and mortally wounding as many more, plundering and stripping the rest, and burning most of the English houses in the town. But in their attempt upon the Lord Aungier's house, whither many of the English had retired, the Irish were so warmly entertained that they were forced, not only to quit the house, but the town, leaving behind them their leader Nangle dead upon the place, three muskets having, it seems, at the same time been directed at him, of which two took place, whose head

* Ormonde to Sir Arthur Forbes, June 12, 1656. Ibid. vol. xlix. p. 220.

† Copies of the Letters of Sir Arthur Forbes to Mr Page, secretary to Lord Ormonde. Carte Papers, vol. lxxxiv. pp. 465, 466.

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is brought into this town (Dublin), and put upon St James's Gate.

"The Lord Aungier is since gone into the county of Longford, and for the more speedy reducing of the Tories to obedience, his Grace the Lord-Lieutenant had commanded all the horse and foot of the adjacent countries to hunt them in their places of retirement; and those persons lately mutineers at Carrickfergus have earnestly petitioned to be employed against them, that they may have the opportunity to repay by this service the reputation they had lost." *

But though Sir Jerome Alexander was thus freed from one of his competitors, the other, Nicholas D'Arcy, remained, and besought the Lord-Lieutenant to relieve him in the only way open to him. But Sir Jerome held possession still. At length in 1663, Nicholas D'Arcy got a decree of innocence in the Court of Claims; but as this only decreed him a remainder-expectant on the life of his father, he compounded for the immediate possession of Lyon and Rathduff with Beatrix Browne, widow and executrix of Lieutenant Denis Browne, who had enjoyed them for ten years previous, for fifteen pounds. Before he could get possession, however, Beatrix Browne married again, and Sir Jerome Alexander pretended he had purchased them from John Bevans, her second husband, and insisted that, whatever might be Browne's or Bevans' titles, it would be unsafe at all events to let in a remainder man, who might set up a title against the King. Poor Nicholas D'Arcy concludes his replication, unfolding the chicane of Sir Jerome Alexander thus: "Replicant saith His Majesty's letters and mandate are a better foundation for a man wanting, and out of all his means, than misinformations and the importunate suit of a man full of custodiams and riches." †

After many proofs of Sir Jerome's hard treatment of others, one can hardly view with any pity his own sufferings, as exhibited in the following he presented to the Duke of Ormonde, as Lord-Lieutenant, in the following year:—

* The London Gazette, No. lxvii.

† Carte Papers, vol. 154, y. 113.

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The humble Petition of Sir Jerome Alexander, Knt one of His Maties Justices of His Maties Court of Common Pleas in Ireland.

Shewing That in the year of Our Lord God 1657 amongst other Lands a certaine Town Land called Old Town lying in the Barony Fertullogh and County of Westmeath was assigned and sett over unto yr Petr and those under whom hee claymes for an adventure for Rebells Lands in Ireland, since which time upon a certifycate of the Comrs for executing the Acts of Settlement and Explanation &c the same hath been passed to your Petr & his heires for ever, of which Towneland your Petr by himselfe and his tenants have been possessed ever since the yeare 1657 & is now possessed thereof. But so it is may it please your Grace that a certaine sume of money of three pence an acre being assessed by yr Grace on the Innocents and all the Irish Papist lands by force of a Clause in the Explanatory Act page 114 and one Peter Terrill of Branockstowne in the Barony and County aforesd beeing a person on whom some part of the three pence per acre is assessed and the same assigned to Sr Oliver St George wherewith to pay his Troop, who have sent some Souldrs part of his Troop to collect the same they repaired to Branockstowne aforesaid being the lands of the said Peter Terrill an Irish Papist and by him sett unto one Robert Dalton his Brother in Law upon whom the sd Souldiers quartered for payment of the sd money. But the sd Terrill & Dalton informing the sd Souldrs that yr Petrs said Towneland of Old Towne was the sd Terrills though not all mentioned in the sd assignemt, they the sd Terrill Dalton & the Souldrs by a combination & practise amongst them, did repaire together to yr Suplts said Towneland & there have seized upon two hundred Sheepe or there-abouts of yr Suplts Tents of the sd lands & doe keepe & retaine them in their possession by strong hand, refusing for to obey a Replevyn wch yr Petrs tenants procured for the redeeming of their cattle & the sd Souldrs seiseing themselves upon yor Suplfs sd tents there doe still continue & abide in their houses eating and drinking of their victualls & destroying of their goods, swearing many & deperate oathes that there they will continue soe to doe, until yr Supts tents shall pay them the money assigned upon the sd Peter Terrill, this beeing a matter against Law and Reason that yr Supplt should by force bee thus compelled to pay another mans

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due contrary to yo^r Graces expresse direction in assigning of the payment of the s^d money. May it therefore please yo^r Grace to grant unto yo^r Supp^lts yo^r Graces order of command to bee directed unto the s^d Terrill Dalton & Souldiers that upon sight thereof they restore y^r Supp^lts Tenants Cattle & depart from out of their houses that so they may quietly injoy their estates free from them.

And yor Petr shall pray &c

Dublin 15th Octor 1667.

The Souldiers of the Troop commanded by Sr Oliver St George & the other persons above complained of are required upon sight of this one order to restore all the cattle by them or any of them taken off the Lands of Oldtowne above mentioned & to depart from the s^d Lands without giving further disturbance to the Petitioners tenants. ORMONDE.*

Dr Rogers has shown that, in pursuance of her father's desires, Sir Jerome's daughter Elizabeth united herself in marriage with an Englishman, Sir William Barker of Bocking Hall, in the county of Suffolk, Baronet. He is mistaken, however, in the supposition, that the estate soon passed out of the hands of Sir Jerome's descendants, for they still continue to occupy—William Ponsonby Barker, Esq., the present owner of Kilcooley Abbey, with its beautiful demesne of sixteen hundred acres, being descended from Mary, daughter of Sir William Barker, the third Baronet.†

* Proceeding in this suit, Carte Papers, vol. lxi. pp. 247-248.

† Sir Bernard Burke, Extinct and Dormant Baronetages, 2d edition, London, 1844, p. 37.

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MATERIALS FOR A DOMESTIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

By GEORGE HARRIS, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.H.S.

THERE are as many different modes of writing the history of each country, as there are differences between one country and another in all those various qualities which contribute to constitute the character of a nation. Some histories treat on the laws and constitution, some on the political contentions, some on the commercial enterprises, and some on the natural productions, of a country. That, however, which appears to me to be the most important and the most interesting department of history relating to any country,—that which comes home nearest to our hearts and feelings,—is its domestic history, embracing an account of the manners and customs, the pursuits and habits, and every-day life of the people at large. This, however, strange as it may seem, is one of the most neglected portions of history, not only as regards nations in general, but more particularly as regards our own. So is it also with respect to the ancient world, of whose domestic every-day life we know but very little, and have no regular history, although the materials for such a work are by no means scanty. We nevertheless possess histories in abundance of the political contests and intrigues in which the people of each country and their rulers have been engaged, of their wars with other nations, and of their theological controversies not less fierce. We have, indeed, some interesting records of the customs of this country, and of certain districts in it, at particular periods, as also of its costume and mode of building; but no general domestic history of it has as yet appeared. Some valuable contributions to our domestic history are, however, contained in the chapters on manners and customs in

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the "Pictorial History of England," and on the same subject in Lord Macaulay's History. Scotland, nevertheless, has been before us in this respect; and the "Domestic Annals" of that country by the late Robert Chambers afford at once a full, correct, and most valuable record of the social every-day life, and rise and progress of civilisation in that part of the empire. And yet England is inferior to no nation in the world as regards the interesting nature of its domestic transactions, as it is also rich in the materials available for such a history.

I propose, therefore, on the present occasion, to inquire into the nature of these materials, to specify the principal of them, and to point out the manner in which they may each be turned to account.

The earliest authentic record that we possess of the domestic every-day life of the people of this country, is that contained in Cæsar's Commentaries, which is not only valuable in itself for the direct information that it affords, but it renders available other materials, such as the Druidical monuments, and other ancient remains still existing among us, telling us the use that was made of them, and how they were applied in their domestic avocations. Cæsar also supplies us with much interesting information as to the dress of the people, their buildings and mode of living, their religious rites, and manner of conducting warfare. In the work in question, a great deal of curious matter is also contained as to the manners and customs and mode of living of the Gauls and Germans, and also of the Romans themselves.

Supplementary to this regular history afforded by Cæsar, and rendered peculiarly valuable as materials for history by his explanations as to the uses to which they were applied, are the Druidical monuments in this country and on the Continent, several of which are still remaining in a more or less perfect state. Of these, some were used as temples for religious worship, and in which sacrifices were also offered, of which Cæsar affords a description. One of these temples, that of Gâvr Innis, is

Temple of Gâvr Innis.

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preserved in a very perfect state on a small island on the coast of Brittany. The sculptures on the stones I have not been able to find any one able to decipher. Human victims intended for sacrifice are said to have been bound by cords passing through the hole cut in one of the stones, the sides of which bear evident marks of friction.

The British, Roman, and Danish encampments, and also the remains of early roads yet to be seen in this country, and the discoveries made in several ancient tumuli, furnish additional materials for a description of the habits and mode of living of the people of those times; as do also the earthen vessels of different kinds for domestic use that have been dug up, and the sepulchral remains that have been disinterred. Implements of war, of various kinds and of different materials, have also been found, and have been occasionally preserved by the peculiar quality of the soil in which they had lain for so many centuries embedded. Remains of ancient British boats or canoes thus kept from decay have been dug up. Coins, too, of various kinds and materials, are occasionally met with. And not far from the place where we are now assembled, the remains of Roman tesselated pavements, belonging to baths or villas, have been discovered, of the use of which ancient historians inform us.

Nearly as ancient, and quite as interesting, as the solid remains of antiquity to which I have been alluding, are the illuminations contained in the ancient missals, several of them extending back to the period of the Anglo-Saxons, and which afford very vivid, though somewhat quaint, ideas of the domestic every-day life of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. Some of these missals are preserved in the British Museum. They are very small, generally about the size of the palm of the hand.

Anglo-Saxon house and bed.

A drawing in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript, probably of the ninth century, contains a representation of a house, which is apparently built of wood, and at the entrance to which thick curtains are suspended to keep out the cold. One article of very severe

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penance, which was occasionally enjoined in those times, was not to be allowed to sleep on a soft bed.

Anglo-Saxon dinner-party.

In a representation of an Anglo-Saxon dinner-party, in a manuscript of the same period, the servants go down on their knees, and hand the meat to the company on spits. The guests sat according to their rank; and it is recorded, that if any one presumed to violate this rule, by taking a higher place than he was entitled to, the rest of the company pelted him with bones. Knives, and also loaves and bowls, are seen on the table, but no forks or dishes. A horn was used to hold the wine; and as all the company drank out of the same vessel, it was divided by partitions, so that no one who was greedily disposed could take more than his share.*

From the Anglo-Saxon missals, and the drawings contained in them, we turn for information as to our domestic history to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, some of which are still in existence in our public libraries, and several editions of which have been printed in English. Curious references in them will occasionally be found to the mode of building houses, the style of dress, and the means of travelling in those days. And it is a subject of interest in our time to observe the exact notice that they took of the appearance of comets and eclipses, which were always regarded as prognostications of some dire event, which is also recorded and traced to them. References to meteoric showers, which have attracted so much attention at the present day, are also made.

Churches of the Anglo-Saxon period are also existing, the carving and sculpture on which afford us information, not only as to the style of architecture and sculpture, but also as to the costume and mode of building then in use.

Ancient tapestry, as well as ancient drawings, in many cases affords vivid and accurate ideas of the domestic every-day life of the period to which it relates. This is the case

* The Anglo-Saxons possessed boiling vessels for the purpose of cooking their meat. Strange, however, to say, these vessels were made, not of iron or brass, but of leather.—*Pictorial History of England*, vol. i. p 326.

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with the celebrated Bayeux tapestry, representing the various events connected with the invasion of this country by William the Conqueror, and the battle of Hastings. It is said to have been worked by Queen Matilda, the wife of William, and the ladies of the court, and is still preserved, in a very perfect state, in the Town Hall of Bayeux, in Normandy. From the representations here given, we glean information as to the costume of the time, the articles of furniture in use, the style of building, and many other points of interest as to domestic life.

Bayeux tapestry.

Further details as to the manners and customs of the Anglo-Norman period are afforded by the illuminations in the missals of those times, several of which, in a high state of preservation, are in the British Museum.

A very early and rude specimen of Anglo-Norman art is intended to represent a wine-cellar of this period, and also a funeral. From this we learn the style of building, and also of vessels for wine, and the sort of ladders or staircases which people had to climb. Stone coffins were then generally in use for persons of the higher rank; while, for those of the middle or lower classes, it appears, from other drawings, that they were made of metal or wood.

Anglo-Norman wine-cellar and funeral.

Inventories of various kinds, and legal documents, which are ordinarily regarded as the driest of all sources of information, occasionally serve to supply us with facts respecting our domestic history of considerable value. Thus, Doomsday Book, which was compiled by the direction of William the Conqueror, in order that he might obtain an account of the land in this country, its nature and resources, informs us of many curious particulars respecting the state of the people at the time; while in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle already alluded to is contained the following reference to that book:—

"So very narrowly did he [William the Conqueror] cause the survey to be made, that there was not a single hide, nor a rood of land, nor—it is shameful to relate that which he thought no shame

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to do—was there an ox, or a cow, or a pig passed by, that was not set down in the accounts, and then all those writings were brought to him."*

From Doomsday Book we also learn how large a portion of the country was at that time covered by forest, which was principally oak and beech, and that Essex, in particular, was nearly all forest. It also appears from the same authority that keeping swine was the principal occupation in the rural districts, so that a tree at that time was valued according to the number of swine that could be collected under its branches. These animals were kept in the woods, and were fed on acorns and beech-mast; hence the word "bacon" is derived from the Saxon *bucon*, or beech. In Doomsday Book it is recorded that in Middlesex there was swine's food for 16,535 hogs; in Hertfordshire, for 30,705; and in Essex, for 92,991.

Account-books and ledgers are almost universally, and doubtless very deservedly, regarded as the dullest and most uninteresting of all documents with which we ever come in contact; yet the contents of some of these, when they are closely scrutinised, will prove not only very interesting, but serve to afford much knowledge as to our domestic history. Thus the accounts preserved in some of our old cathedrals relating to the execution of works of art, throw considerable light on the early history of painting and sculpture, showing how works of this kind were contracted for by the square yard, certain specifications as to the nature and quality of the beings to be represented, whether angels or demons, and the apparel with which they were to be adorned.† Mr Robert Chambers, in his "Domestic Annals of Scotland," gives a copy of a bill sent in at an early period to a parish in Scotland for burning witches, which affords some curious details as to the proceedings adopted in cases of this kind. The account in question contains items

* A.D. 1085.

† In one of these contracts it is specified that there shall be "a heaven made of timber and stained cloth," and "a hell made of timber and iron-work, with devils in number thirteen."—*Cunningham's History of British Painters*, vol. i. pp. 4-18.

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"for coals for the witches;" "for a man to be jumps to them;" "for a tar-barrel;" "for tows;" and "for the executioner for his pains." A very old account preserved among the archives of the Corporation of Coventry contains items for making a wig and a pair of gloves for the devil; which is explained by the fact that the account in question relates to the preparation for a mystery or miracle-play, common in the period to which it relates. Portions of a ledger belonging to a maker of court dresses in the time of Charles the Second, now lying on the table before you, afford a curious picture of the costume of the period in use among the upper ranks.

Kymesman's accounts, temp. Charles II.

Wills of the Anglo-Saxon period are preserved in the British Museum, which also serve to show the great importance attached to swine as a commodity at that period. One nobleman bequeaths to his two daughters a legacy of two thousand swine; and another person makes a bequest of two hundred swine for the purpose of having masses sung for the good of his soul.

The inventories preserved of the furniture and household utensils in the houses of some of our great nobility of an early period, afford a vivid notion of the style of living in those times—of the vast retinue that was kept up, and of the various articles of domestic appliance then in use.

From an interesting manuscript volume of the fourteenth century, belonging to the Corporation of the City of London, and called the *Liber Albus*, may be gleaned some curious particulars of the domestic history of that period. Houses in London were at first mere hovels of wood or plaster-work; but after the city was burnt in the reign of King Stephen, there was framed an ordinance requiring stone materials for partition walls. At this period London houses seem to have consisted of but one story. But early in the fourteenth century, we find them of two or three stories high, entered probably by stairs on the outside, and giving rise to frequent disputes. Windows are mentioned, but glass was rare.

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Chimneys are supposed not to have become common before the year 1300.

Household and other regulations, too, belonging either to the royal court or to the mansions of certain great families, afford occasionally a curious insight into the manners and mode of living in those times. Thus, one law of the Anglo-Saxon period deprived of the royal protection "any person who should strike the Queen, or snatch anything forcibly from her hand."

The following somewhat quaint, but extremely practical, regulations are extracted from those relating to the household of an archbishop of the fifteenth century:—

"For uttering an oath, a fine of one penny. The same for leaving a door open.

"A fine of twopence from Lady Day to Michaelmas, for all who are in bed after six, or out after ten.

"A fine of one penny for any man waiting without a trencher, or who is absent at a meal.

"For any follower visiting the cook, one penny."

Old plays and poems of different kinds will frequently be found very serviceable in throwing light on the domestic history of the period when they were produced. I need not point out how vivid a picture is afforded by Shakespeare of the manners and customs of the people he describes. Chaucer contains a mine of wealth in this respect; and you may almost fancy, after reading some of the scenes which he so graphically portrays, that you have actually yourself witnessed them.

A French poem of the fourteenth century contains some very specific directions as to the behaviour proper for ladies, thus leading us to infer what must have been the general state of manners at the period in question, and the domestic freaks in which the fair sex were wont to indulge.

By these regulations it is required that the ladies walk orderly to church, and they are desired not to run or jump in the streets. It is further demanded that "ladies should be neat in their persons, and keep their nails cut short; and that

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they should not laugh or talk too loud at dinner, nor daub their fingers with their food." They are told that they may wipe their lips on the tablecloth, but must not blow their noses with it. It is further ordered that "when ladies walk in the streets, they must not stop as they pass to look in at people's windows, for this is neither agreeable nor seemly." They are also taught that "when they visit their friends, they ought not to bounce all at once into the room, but stop at the entrance and announce their coming by a little gentle cough, or by speaking a word." The concluding regulations forbid the fair sex to indulge in either filching or fibbing.

Diaries and journals kept by private persons often serve to throw a great deal of light on the domestic character of the period during which they were written. Thus the diary of the great philosopher Locke contains an interesting notice of the sports and pastimes in London in his day: "the wrestling in Lincoln's Inne Field every evening all the summer; bear and bull-baiting, and sometimes prizes, at the Bear-garden."*

Laws of all kinds, particularly Acts of Parliament, are generally considered a dry study. Some of our ancient laws, however, afford us a keen insight into the state of society and domestic life in those times. Cæsar in his Commentaries gives us some account of the laws and modes of punishment in use among the ancient Britons, of which burning in huge wicker frames filled with straw was one. He also informs us that husbands had the power of life and death over their wives and children. On the death of a nobleman, if there was any suspicion against the wives, they were put to the torture as slaves. If they were thought guilty, after cruel torments they were burnt to death. In early times very severe laws were made, and great oppressions were exercised, in order to secure an ample supply of game for the king. Villages were depopulated to make forests. King Edward the Confessor received annually from his manor of Barton, near Gloucester, three thousand loaves of bread for the maintenance of his dogs. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle already referred to tells

* Lord King's "Life of Locke," p. 134.

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us that William the Conqueror "made large forests for the deer, and enacted laws therewith, so that whoever killed a hart or a hind should be blinded. As he forbade killing the deer, so also the boars; and he loved the tall stags as if he were their father. He also appointed concerning the foxes that they should go free." The same chronicle mentions mutilation of different kinds, and putting out the eyes, as a common mode of punishment at that period. Hanging and stoning were also resorted to. The preamble of a statute passed in the year 1285 states that "from day to day robberies, murders, burnings, and theft be more often used than they have been heretofore." No man was, in consequence, allowed to lodge during the night in the suburbs of any town, unless his host would answer for him. Directions were also given for clearing the sides of highways of ditches and bushes, "in which a man may lurk to do hurt."

One meritorious act recorded of William the Conqueror in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and which, the writer says, ought not to be forgotten, is, that the "good order" which he established in the country was "such that any man, who was himself aught, might travel over the kingdom with a bosom full of gold unmolested; and no man durst kill another, however great the injury he might have received from him."*

This happy state of things does not appear to have been permanent, as the same chronicle records that, during the reign of Henry I., a court was held in Leicestershire, "and there they hanged more thieves than had ever before been executed within so short a time, being in all forty-and-four men; and they deprived six men of their eyes, and certain other members."† In later times the pillory was introduced, and was a frequent method of punishment, especially in cases of fraud.

Pillory, and Witch-burning.

A singular illustration of the mode in which Acts of Parliament serve to supply us with information as to the state of society and domestic life in the period during which they were made, is afforded by the fact that in 1513 a bill passed the House of

* A.D. 1087. † A.D. 1124.

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Commons subjecting all robbers and murderers to the civil power. But before it became a law, a proviso was added to it, that bishops, priests, and deacons should be exempted from it. Some of our early Acts of Parliament regulate the quantity and quality of dishes to be allowed on table at one meal. In the year 1363, the attention of the House of Commons was called to the fashion of dress in those times, and various restrictions were imposed on the liberty of the subject in that respect. A law passed in 1463 ordered all jackets to be worn of a certain length behind. Such, indeed, was the rage of fashion at that time, that one of the old chronicles informs us, that "the doors of all the state apartments in one of the palaces on the Continent had to be raised and widened, in order that the head-dresses of the queen and her ladies might have room to enter."

The first law relating to highways, which throws some interesting light on the state of our public roads at that time, was made in the reign of Queen Mary. Its success may be judged of from the fact that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth coaches were first introduced into England. Posts for the conveyance of intelligence are said to have been adopted by Richard III. when Duke of Gloucester. Travelling carriages were, however, in use in the fifteenth century, as we find not only references to them, but representations of them in the missals.

An interesting collection of Acts of Parliament of the time of Henry VII., some of which serve to throw much light on the domestic every-day life of that period, has been published by Dr John Rae, who is a member of the Council of this Society.

Criminals of the fifteenth century.

Much information as regards the state and the nature of crime at different periods of our history, and as to the mode of punishing it, is to be gleaned from the illuminations in the ancient missals. One of those drawings of the fifteenth century is in four compartments, the first of which represents criminals going to prison; in the next, one of the criminals is being bound; in the third,

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they are being conveyed to the place of execution; and in the last, the executioner is preparing to strike off the offender's head.

A man on the rack.

In an old manuscript of the fifteenth century, preserved in the British Museum, which not only belonged to Richard III., but has his autograph on one of the leaves, are several representations of instruments of punishment and of torture; and one of the drawings represents a criminal being fastened to the rack, on which he is about to be tortured.

In some ancient buildings on the Continent are preserved, not only the torture chambers in which people suffered in the manner described, but also the instruments themselves which were used on those occasions. In the dungeon under the Town Hall at Ratisbon, a rack is armed with a spiked roller for tearing the flesh off the back. These substantial relics of the mode of inflicting punishment in ages gone by, afford materials for that portion of the domestic history of the period which no written description, even if contemporaneous, could supply.

The records of early trials in our courts of justice, not only those relating to crimes, but to civil matters as well, frequently serve to afford us very vivid descriptions of the state of society and of domestic every-day life at the period to which they relate, and are well deserving of a careful study by those who desire to write an accurate history of this class. From these may be culled an account, not only of the proceedings which led to the trial, but of the mode of living at that time, the pursuits of the people, the manner of travelling, the amusements then in fashion, and, indeed, the general character of the era.

Old newspapers are also very serviceable in this respect, and that not only as regards the regular news contained in them, but their advertisements also, which afford us an insight into the way of living, and the commercial dealings of the period. Notifications of travelling vehicles are among the advertisements frequent at the commencement of the last century.

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Thus, the *Daily Courant* of the 22d May 1719 contains the following announcement:—

"All gentlemen and others that have a mind to go for Edinburgh, in North Britain, are informed that a coach and coachman, with six able horses, will be ready to return from Mr Rogers's, at the George Inn in the Haymarket, St James', the 30th day of May."

Another advertisement is to the following effect:—

"At the Hart and Tun, at the upper end of Hatton Garden, on Monday, the 17th inst., sets out an empty coach for the Bath, and will carry any gentlemen or ladies very reasonable."

The above relate to ordinary conveyances; but the following is of an extraordinary character, both as regards the nature of the vehicle in question, and the description of passengers sought to be allured within its walls.

"*For the Benefit of the Distressed.*

"In a few days (if God permit) will set out for the Bath a large commodious waggon, which will conveniently hold thirty-six persons; and there being but six places yet taken, such weak persons as are willing to take advantage of this conveyance, are desired speedily to send in their names to Robert Knight, waggoner, at the Three Crowns, in Arlington Street. The said waggon inns at the King's Head, near the King's Bath, at Bath.

"This invention is of the same nature of Dr Green's carriage, to Scotland, but much improved, as containing three times the number of passengers."

Travelling of a more ambitious kind seems in those days to have been somewhat hazardous, not only on account of the extreme badness of the roads, which do not appear to have much improved since the law respecting them was made in Queen Mary's reign, and, in consequence, we are told, that carriages frequently stuck fast in the mud, and had to be dragged out by a team of horses from a neighbouring farm; but also on account of the immense number of highwaymen with which the country was at that time infested. One of the newspapers of the year 1720 informs us that on the 27th of

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February "all the stage coaches coming from Surrey to London were robbed by highwaymen."

A graphic description is contained in an advertisement relating to some desperate fellows who had been apprehended on suspicion of housebreaking and robbing on the highway:—

"They both wear wiggs, one has a frowning downish look, the other has very high cheek-bones. They had, when seized, a pair of pistols each, two large knives, a chissel without a handel, a sack, and two cords, with tinder-boxes, matches, and gunpowder. One rode on a grey mare, the other on a bay mare; they had no boots, only spurs, and it is expected there are more in the gang. Any persons who have been robbed, are desired to go and view them in the Marshalsea."

A paragraph in a newspaper of the year 1722 mentions—

"There were no western letters yesterday, the mail being robbed on Monday last, between eleven and twelve at night, in the road near Chinock, in the midway between Crewkern and Sherburn, by one footpad, who carried off the bags belonging to all the towns between the Land's End and Yeovil." *

Hogarth's paintings and engravings serve to render complete the materials for a graphic description of the domestic history of our country during the last century. On the whole, indeed, there is nothing like pictorial and sculptural representation as a record of the events of the period to which it relates. The relics of carving, both in stone and wood, in many of our churches and public buildings, are of inestimable value in this respect. The painted glass, too, is worthy of much attention on this account; and, in conjunction with the illuminations in our missals, the style of which it frequently much resembles, presents graphic representations of the costume of the period, and also records the sort of buildings in use. The missals, indeed, afford in succession a history of the costume of this

* So late, however, as the year 1786, during the month of January, it is recorded by Mr Horace Walpole in one of his letters, that the mail was stopped in Pall Mall, close to the Palace, and deliberately pillaged, at so early an hour as a quarter past eight in the evening.—*Wright's England under the House of Hanover*, vol. ii. pp. 333, 334.

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country from the Anglo-Saxon times to the end of the fourteenth century, at which period engravings of different kinds begin to supply their place in this respect. In the beautiful missal called the "Romance of the Roses," you have a representation of costume in the fifteenth century; of that of people of the upper rank, of that of men of the middle class, and of that worn by ladies in a convent. Representations of buildings of every variety are to be found in these missals, of churches, castles, cities, and domestic dwellings. Engravings, though at first very rudely executed, are also very serviceable here. I have already alluded to the information supplied by the *Liber Albus* as to the early style of houses in London.

Costume of the fifteenth century.

The most graphic ideas of shipping at various periods in the olden times, are to be gathered from ancient painted glass, and the illuminations in some of our missals. In conjunction with what is preserved of the actual armour and weapons then in use, the materials for history of this kind are perfect.

Ships of the fifteenth century.

Mode of warfare in the fifteenth century.

Not only, however, are real and literal and grave representations of persons and scenes such as they really appeared, valuable as materials for history, especially of a domestic kind, but representations of another class, which are not so real because not so literal, may occasionally also be resorted to. I allude to caricatures as connected with the graphic art, and to satirical poems and essays as regards typographical description, in which, after making all due allowance for exaggeration, much truth is often contained, and which is expressed with far more force than is the case in ordinary narratives.

Such are the very various and very opposite materials from which it appears to me that a complete, correct, and graphic domestic history of this country, embracing all that relates to the every-day life, the manners, habits, and pursuits of the people at large, of all ranks and classes, might be composed. History of this description, although the most neglected, seems to me to be by far the most important, the most inte-

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resting, and that which comes nearest to the hearts of us all. It is also in many respects the most valuable and the most practical, as it is mainly from the experience of the past in this respect that we can hope to ameliorate our present condition. Much towards the encouragement of the work may be effected by societies such as that to which we belong, and much too by each individual member. Some branches of the subject are of almost necessary interest to most of us; and the materials for such a history are such as each has the occasional opportunity of contributing. Moreover, as the materials are drawn from so many different and widely varying sources,—art, manufactures, national industry, warfare, criminal statistics, navigation,—all contributing to make up the general mass; so is it, of all history, the most universal, embracing the most important points connected with the rise and progress not only of one particular nation, but of mankind at large.

According as this Society increases and advances in membership, in influence, and in resources, as it is rapidly doing, I trust that it may become the repository of some of the more interesting materials for a Domestic History of England, such as those to which I have been referring, according as opportunities offer for collecting them, or the liberality of individuals may induce them to present them to our library. Indeed, under the auspices of this Society, I should rejoice to see produced a domestic history of this country worthy of the subject and of this Society also. Efforts such as these not only add to the importance of such an institution, but essentially contribute to increase its influence, add to its interest, and confer upon it a claim for national support.

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BORROWINGS OF MODERN FROM ANCIENT POETS.

By the late Sir JOHN BOWRING, LL.D. F.R.S.,

Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

THE influence of the literature of Greece and Rome, not only upon that of the nations the groundwork of whose language may be traced back to classical sources, but on those civilised races who descend from a wholly different origin, has been a subject which has received much attention and abundant illustration. We formerly gave a collection of examples to be found in the writings of Shakespeare, and also from several of our English poets; and availing ourselves, as before, mainly of the labours of Henderson, give a continuation of our excerpts. They are very far indeed from being exhaustive, but they may encourage others to fill up the blanks that have been left.

Anonymous.

Ægrotat Dæmon, monachus tunc esse volebat,
Dæmon convaluit, Dæmon ut ante fuit—
When the Devil was sick, the Devil a saint would be,
When the Devil got well, the Devil a saint was he.

Benefacta male locata, malefacta arbitror (*Cicero*)—
Praise undeserved is satire in disguise.

Casta ad virum parendo, imperat—
How gently glides the married life away,
When she who rules still seems but to obey!

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Dolor hic, tibi proderit olim—
Vexations duly borne
Are but as trials which Heaven's love to man
Sends for his good.

Ensi cadunt multi, feriunt sed crapula plures—
Hunger and thirst scarcely kill any,
But gluttony and drink kill a great many.

Est modus in rebus : sunt certi denique fines,
Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.
Keep within compass, and you may be sure
That you will not suffer what others endure.

Exstinctus amabitur idem (*Horace*)—
Not to know the good we have
Till Time has stolen the cherished gift away,
Is cause of half the misery we feel,
And makes the world the wilderness it is.

Felix, qui non litigat—
Fond of lawyers, little wealth ;
Fond of doctors, little health.

Hac jacet in tomba, Rosa mundi, non Rosa munda,
Non redolet, sed olet, quæ redolere solet—
Here lies not Rose the chaste, but Rose the fair,
Whose scents no more perfume, but taint the air.

In pace leones, in prœliis cervi—
Of war all can tattle,
Away from the battle.

Infra tuam pelliculam, te contine—
He who more than he is worth doth spend
E'en makes a rope his life to end.

Inter delicias, semper aliquid sæve, nos strangulat—
No joy without alloy.

Inveni portum, spes et Fortuna valete,
Sat me ludistis, ludite nunc alios—
I've reached the harbour. Hope and chance, adieu !
You've played with me, now play with others too.

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Jocandum, ut seria agas—
All work and no play
Makes Jack a dull boy.
A little nonsense now and then
Is relished by the best of men.

Latet anguis in herba—
Look before you leap,
For snakes among sweet flowers do creep.

Laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis (*Horace*)—
He that would please all and others too,
Undertakes what he cannot do.

Litem movebit, si vel asinus, canem momorderit—
Some go to law
For the wagging of a straw.

Littus ama; altum alii teneant (*Virgil*)—
Vessels large may venture more,
But little boats must keep near shore.

Magis illa juvant, quos secretæ lacerunt curæ (*Seneca*)—
Things hardly attained are the longest retained.
What's most difficult to gain
We're most earnest to retain.

Magni animi est, injurias despicere (*Seneca*)—
For ill do well,
Then fear not hell.

Magnum est vectigal, parsimonia—
Penny and penny laid up will be many.

Magnus sine viribus ignis, incassum furit (*Virgil*)—
Anger can't stand without a strong hand.

Manifesta phrenesis, ut locuples moriaris egenti vivere fato? (*Juvenal*)—
It would make a man scratch where it doth not itch
To see a man live poor to die rich.

Maxima debetur puero reverentia (*Juvenal*)—
Children pick up words as pigeons pease,
And utter them again as God shall please.

Miscentur luctus lætis—
From the cradle to the tomb,
Not all gladness, not all gloom.

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Mœrent omnes, et si roges eos reddere causam, non possunt—
A tear bedews my Delia's eye
From morn to dewy eve;
But if you ask the reason why,
She can't tell, I believe.

Mons cum monte, non miscebitur—
Friends may meet, but mountains never greet.

Multa cadunt inter calicem, supremaque labra—
There's many a slip
'Twixt the cup and the lip.
Though the bird's in the net,
It may get away yet.

Multis ictibus dejicitur quercus—
Little strokes fell great oaks.

Mus, non uni fidit antro (*Plautus*)—
A mouse that only trusts to one poor hole
Can never be a mouse of any soul.

Mus, salit in stratum, cum scit non adfore catum—
When the cat's away
The mice will play.

Ne tentes aut perfer—
But let him never mount who fears to fall:
If thy heart fail thee, do not climb at all.

Nec scire fas est omnia—
One science only can one genius fit,
So vast is art, so narrow human wit.

Nemo potest Thetidem, simul et Galatœam amare—
It's good to be off with the old love
Before you be on with the new.

Nolunt ubi velis; ubi noles capiunt ultro—
For if they will, they will,—you may depend on't;
And if they won't, they won't,—and there's an end on't.

Nescis tu, quam periculosa res est, ire ad judicem (*Plautus*)—
Fools and the perverse
Fill the lawyer's purse.

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Non est tam bonus, qui non cæspitet equus—
It is a good horse that never stumbles,
And a good wife that never grumbles.

Non omnes, qui citheram tenent, citherædæ—
Many talk of Robin Hood that never shot his bow,
And many talk of Little John that never did him know.

Non satis feliciter solere procedere, quæ oculis agas alienis—
He that by the plough would thrive,
Himself must either hold or drive.

Non volat in buccas assa columba tuas—
No gains without pains.
He that gapeth until he be fed,
Well may he gape until he be dead.

Nosce tempus—
He that will not when he may,
When he will he shall have nay.

Nascitur a sociis—
Tell me with whom thou goest,
I'll tell thee what thou doest.

Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero pulsanda tellus (*Horace*)—
Who loves not woman, wine, and song,
Remains a fool his whole life long.

Nux, asinus, mulier, verbere opus habent—
A spaniel, a wife, and a walnut-tree,
The more you beat 'em the better they be.

Omne epigramma sit instar apis, sit acutius illi—
Sint sua mella, sit et corporis exigui (*Martial*)—
Three things must epigrams, like bees, have all—
A sting, and honey, and a body small.

Omni malo punico, inest granum puter—
No house without a mouse.

Operose, nihil agentes (*Seneca*)—
Who is so busy—who,
As he who has nought to do?

Oportet iniquum petas, ut æquum pares—
If you've aught to sell, my honest advice
Is, of what it is worth to ask double the price.

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Optimum est pati, quod emendari non potest (*Seneca*)—
What can't be cured must be endured.

Otiio qui nescit uti, plus habet
Negotii, quam qui negotium in negotio—
No man's more doomed to labour than
The idlest and most slothful man.

Pacem orare manu præfigere puppibus arma (*Virgil*)—
Put your trust in God, my boys, and keep your powder dry.

Pares non paribus, facillime congregentur (*Cicero*)—
Two of a kind, whate'er they be,
Are very certain to agree.

Parvum parva decent (*Horace*)—
A little bird is suited best
When housed within a little nest.

Patriæ fumus, igne alieno lucentior—
Though you seat the frog on a golden stool,
He soon will tumble into the pool.

Paulatim, non impetu—
What raging rashly is begun,
Challengeth shame before half done.

Pecuniam in loco negligere, maximum interdum est lucrum—
Don't spoil a ship of peace or war
By sparing but a little tar.

Per noctem plurima volvens—
Fancies flutter, many and bright,
In the darkness of the night.

Perfer et obdura (*Ovid*)—
Hope and strive is the way to thrive.

Planta, quæ sæpius transfertur, non evalescit—
I never saw an oft-removed tree,
Nor yet an oft-removed family,
That throve so well as those that settled be.

Plures adorant solem orientem, quam occidentem—
Let others hail the rising sun,
I bow to him whose race is run.

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Poma, ova, atque, nuces
Sidet tibi sordida gustis—
An apple, an egg, and a nut,
You may eat after a glut.

Post emores, gloria sera venit—
He asked for bread, and he received a stone.

Prohibenda est ira in puniendo—
Take care that passion mix not with thy judgment.

Quæ e longinquo magis placent—
Things from afar
The most valued are.

Quæ, peccamus juvenes ea, luimus senes—
He who lies upon roses when he is young,
When he is old shall on thorns be flung.

Qualis vir, talis oratio—
Judge of a coxcomb by his stalk;
Judge of a wise man by his talk.

Quamvis sublimes, debent humiles metuare (*Phædrus*)—
Though you're an eagle, don't despise
Insignificant gnats and flies.

Qui non potest, quod vult, velle oportet, quod potest—
Neither man nor woman can
Do more than woman or man.

Qui pingit florem, non pingit floris odorem—
Howe'er you paint the flow'ret well,
You cannot paint the flow'ret's smell.

Qui sentit commodum, sentire debet et onus—
If you would the profit share,
You the burden too must bear.

Quid quid excessit modum, pendit instabili loco (*Seneca*)—
His portion is unstable
Who strains more than he is able.

Quisquis amet luscam, esse putat venustam—
Lady loved by squint-eye, hints
She has preference for squints.

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Quod caret alterna requie durabile non est (*Ovid*)—
If you perfect health would keep,
Mingle weekly work and sleep.

Raro antecedentem scelestum
Deseruit pede Pœna claudo (*Horace*)—
Limping justice ne'er will fail
To hunt out the longest trail.

Ridentem dicere verum, quid vetat? (*Horace*)—
Why hesitate, or blush, or stutter,
When you have a truth to utter?

Sæpius ventis agitatur ingens
Pinus; et celsæ graviore casu
Decidunt turres—
The loftiest pine is soonest overthrown
By the fierce storm. The turret tumbles down
First which aspires.

Scilicet ut fulvum spectatur in ignibus aurum,
Tempore sic duro, est inspicienda fides—
Adversity tests friendship, all the same
As the pure gold is tested by the flame.

Scilicet uxorem cum dote, fidemque, et amorem—
Et genus, et formam, regina pecunia, donat—
A wife with a dowry brings friends to the hall,
And trust in the market, birth, beauty, and all
That to eager desires and best prayers can befall.

Sed mulier cupido quod dicit amanti,
In vento et rapida scribere oportet aqua (*Ovid*)—
Your lady says what's sweet and kind;
Now go and write it on the wind,
Or on the flowing water.

Sequentem fugit, fugientem sequitur—
Follow love, and it will flee;
Flee love, and 'twill follow thee.

Sera in fundo parsimonia—
'Tis too late to spare
When the bottom is bare.

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Sepulchri immemor struis domos (*Horace*)—
Thoughtless of tombs, thou buildest domes.

Si ad naturam vivas, nunquam eris pauper; si ad opinionem nunquam dives (*Seneca*)—
If thou with moderation keep thy store,
Thou wilt be never poor;
But if to live in state be thine endeavour,
Thou wilt be opulent never.

Si quæ, metu dempto, casta est, ea denique casta est
Quæ, quia non liceat, non faciet, illa facit—
She is chaste, and only she,
Who, unseen, unchaste might be;
She unchaste who, tempted, would
Be unchaste, if but she could.

Simia simia est, aurea gestet iniquia—
An ape's an ape, a varlet's a varlet,
Though they be clad in silk or scarlet.

Solamen miseris, socios habuisse doloris—
Two in distress make sorrow the less.

Sub oculis posita negligens proximorum
Cucurrissi loginqua sectamur (*Pliny*)—
Abroad to see wonders the traveller goes,
And neglects the fine things that are under his nose.

Tantum bona valent, quantum vendi possunt.
The worth of a thing
Is what it will bring.

Tuum habita—
Fond pride of dress is sure a very curse;
Ere fancy you consult, consult your purse.

Tendo ossum in sollicitum—
Care brings on grey hairs,
And age without years.

Tunc canent cygni, quum tacebunt graculi—
Let the jackdaws add their tongue
When the mountain larks have sung.

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Ubi amor, ibi oculus—
The eye will often wander
The road that love has taught.

Ubi opes, ibi amicitia—
I wot well how the world wags:
He is most loved that hath most bags.

Una dies afferit, confecit una dies—
One day brings the joys that the next day destroys.

Venienti occurrite morbo tenus.
Disease is soon shaken by physic soon taken.

Veritatis, simplex oratio est (*Seneca*)—
When the hand is clean, it needs no screen.

Vinum Venusque nocent (*Martial*)—
Women and wine, game and deceit,
Make the wealth small and the wants great.

Vultus index animi—
In the forehead and the eye
The nature of the mind doth lie.

BARHAM.

Aut dic, aut accipe calcem—
He won't, won't he? Then bring me my boots.

BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER.

Nemo repente, fuit turpissimus—
There is a method in man's wickedness—
It grows up by degrees.

BULWER.

Dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici;
Expertus metuit (*Horace*)—
Sharp is the kiss of the falcon's beak.

BUNYAN.

Sæpe est sub sordido pallisto capicula—
A pearl may in a toad's head dwell,
And may be found, too, in an oyster-shell.

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BURNS.

Cura fugit, diluiturque mero—

Care, mad to see a man sae happy,
E'en drown'd himsel amang the nappy!
Inspiring, bold John Barleycorn!
What dangers thou canst mak us scorn!

Fiat experimentum in corpore vel.

Her 'prentice hand she tried on man,
And then she made the lasses, O!

Homo homini lupus, homo homini dæmon.

Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless thousands mourn!

In lucem nuper Aurora bibit (*Martial*)—

The gallant Sir Robert fought hard to the end;
But who can with fate and quart bumpers contend?
Though fate said a hero should perish in light:
So up rose bright Phœbus, and down fell the knight.

Jam fuerit, nec post unquam revocare licebit (*Lucretius*)—

But pleasures are like poppies spread:
You seize the flower—its bloom is shed.

Nec quæ præteriit, iterum revocabitur unda;
Nec quæ præteriit hora, redire potest (*Ovid*)—

Nae man can tether time or tide.

Neque æquum sapit, qui sibi non sapit—

Is there a man whose judgment clear
Can others teach the course to steer,
Yet runs himself life's mad career
Wild as the wave?

Novi Simonem, et Simon me—

Tam lo'ed him like a vera brither—
They had been fou for weeks thegither.

Non opus est verbis, sed fustibus—

I'd charm her with the magic of a switch.

Non videmus, manticæ quid in tergo est (*Catullus*)—

Oh, wad some power the giftie gie us
To see oursel's as ithers see us!

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Potentissimus est, qui se habet in potestate (*Seneca*)—
Know prudent, cautious self-control
Is wisdom's soul.

Turpe, senex miles, turpe, senilis amor (*Ovid*)—
Oh, doat on the day that gave me an old man.

Ubi amor, ibi oculus—
Yestreen when to the trembling string
The dance gaed thro' the lighted ha',
To thee my fancy took its wing,
I sat, but neither heard nor saw.

Unicuique dedit vitium natura creato (*Propertius*)—
Then gently scan your brother man,
Still gentler sister woman,
Though they may gang a kennin' wrang,
To step aside is human.

Video meliora proboque;
Deteriora sequor (*Ovid*)—
Breathes there a man whose judgment clear
Can others teach their course to steer,
Yet runs himself life's mad career,
Wild as the waves?

BUTLER.

Ante victoriam, ne canas triumphum—
To swallow gudgeons ere they're catched,
And count their chickens ere they're hatched.

Cum plerumque ridiculus, multos elevavit—
Great actions are not always true sons
Of great and mighty resolutions.

In omnia, non omnibus, eadem—
Compound for sins they are inclin'd to,
By damning those they have no mind to.

Volens nolenti animo—
He that complies against his will
Is of his own opinion still.

BYRON.

Anima proxima odia—
If that you have a former friend for foe.

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Ærugo animæ rubigo ingenii—
Which eats into itself, and rusts ingloriously.

Animus conscius, se remordet—
The mind that broods o'er guilty woes
Is like a scorpion girt by fire.

Aurum igni probatum—
Yes! ready money is Aladdin's lamp.

Carent quia vate sacro—
The present century was growing blind
To the great Marlborough's skill in giving knocks,
Until his late life by Archdeacon Coxe.

Carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero—
But who would scorn the month of June,
Because December with his breath so hoary
Must come? Much rather should he court the ray
To hoard up warmth against a wintry day.

Dulce resistens—
And whispering, "I will ne'er consent," consented.

Dum tacent, clamant—
With swimming looks of speechless tenderness.

Extrema gaudii, luctus occupat—
Laughter
Will leave us doubly serious shortly after.

Facta canam, fuerunt, qui me finxisse loquentur (*Ovid*)—
'Tis strange, but true; for truth is always strange,
Stranger than fiction.

Festina lente—
A hand may first, and then a lip be kind.

Forsan miseros meliora sequentur (*Virgil*)—
But sighs subside, and tears (even widows') shrink,
Like Arno in the summer, to a shadow.

Forsitan invenies Galatœam vel meliorem forma diam—
Fresh fires will dry the bright blue eye
We late saw swimming o'er.

Habent insidias, hominis blanditiæ male (*Phædrus*)—
Slight are the outward signs of evil thought.

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Homo homini lupus, homo homini dæmon—
For without transformation
Men become wolves on very slight occasion.

Homo solus aut deus, aut dæmon—
Who could be happy and alone? or good?

Implacabiles plerumque læsæ mulieres—
As fierce as hell, or, fiercer still,
A woman piqued who has her will.

Inter delicias, semper aliquid sævi, nos strangulat—
There rose no day, there roll'd no hour,
Of pleasure unembitter'd,
And not a trapping decked my power
That galled not while it glitter'd.
Full from the fount of joy's delicious springs
Some bitter o'er the flowers its bubbling venom flings.

Interdum lacrymæ pondera vocis habent (*Ovid*)—
Oh! too convincing—dangerously dear,
In woman's eye th' unanswerable tear.
Give me the soft sigh, while the truth-telling eye
Is dimmed for a time with a tear.
What lost a world, and bade a hero fly?
The timid tear in Cleopatra's eye.

Jucundum nihil est, nisi quod reficit varietas (*Syrus*)—
How the devil is it that fresh features
Have such a charm for us poor human creatures?

Laudator temporis acti, se puero (*Horace*)—
Ah, happy years! once more who would not be a boy?

Lingua sussuronis est pejor pelle draconis—
But scandal's my aversion: I protest
Against all evil-speaking, even in jest.

Lucrum malum æquate dispendes.
Gaming gains a loss.

Mala senium accelerant—
My hair is grey, but not with years.

Mel in ore, verba lactis
Fel in corde, fraus in factis—
Demons in act, but gods at least in face.

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Nam scelus intra se tantum qui cogitat ullum,
Facti crimen habet (*Juvenal*)—

What is the sin which is not
Sin in itself? Can circumstance make sin
Or virtue?

Non eadem est etas, non mens (*Horace*)—

My days of love are over: me no more
The charms of maid, wife, and still less of widow,
Can make the fool of that they made before;
In fact, I must not lead the life I did do.
Now my sere fancy "falls into the yellow
Leaf," and Imagination drops her pinion,
And the sad truth that hovers o'er my desk
Turns what was once romantic to burlesque.

Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero pulsanda tellus (*Horace*)—

Strike up the dance: the bowl fill high.

Nugæ seria ducent—

Far glances beget ogles, ogles sighs,
Sighs wishes, wishes words, and words a letter.

Odi parcerelos præ consapientia (*Cicero*)—

To be precocious
Was in her eyes a thing the most atrocious.

Officium ne collocaris in invitum—

She had a good opinion of advice,
Like all who give, and eke receive it gratis,
For which small thanks are still the market price.

Omnium quæ dixerat fueratque arte quadam ostentator (*Tacitus*)—

The last, too, tempered him from grave to gay,
And taught him when to be reserved or free.

Opinionum commenta delet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat (*Cicero*)—

But time strips our illusions of their hue,
And one by one, in turn, some grand mistake
Casts off its bright skin yearly, like a snake.

Optima quæque dies miseris mortalibus ævi prima fugit (*Virgil*)—

They found no fault with time but that it fled.

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Pars sanitatis, velle sanare fuit (*Seneca*)—
'Tis very certain the desire of life
Prolongs it.
Despair of all recovery spoils longevity,
And makes man's miseries of alarming brevity.

Paulatim non impetu—
'Tis best to pause and think ere you run on.

Percontatorem fugito, nam garrulus idem est (*Horace*)—
There's nothing makes me so much grieve
As that abominable tittle-tattle
Which is the cud eschewed by human cattle.

Pol! me occidistis, Amici! (*Horace*)—
How sweet the task to shield an absent friend!
I ask but this of mine, to—*not* defend.

Puerorum impendia!—
Vain, froward child of empire, say,
Are all thy playthings snatched away?

Quam vitia sua nemo confitetur?
Quia etiam nunc in illis est, et omnium
Narrare vigilantis est (*Seneca*)—
When we have what we like, 'tis hard to help it.

Quem di diligunt adolescens moritur—
Perhaps the early grave
Which men weep over may be meant to save.

Qui parcit virgam odit filium—
Oh! ye who teach the ingenuous youth of nations,
Holland, France, England, Germany, or Spain,
I pray ye flog them upon all occasions:
It mends their morals—never mind the pain.

Quid dulcius hominum generi a natura datum est,
Quam sui unique liberi (*Cicero*)—
Sweet to the father is his first-born's birth.

Quis enim læsos impune putasset esse deos—
The Baal-adorer bows on Sinai's steep—
Yet there, e'en there, O God! thy thunders sleep.

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Quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam
Præmia si tollas (*Juvenal*)—
Though fame is smoke
Its fumes are frankincense to human thought.

Quod licet, ingratum est—quod non licet, acrius urit (*Ovid*)—
Think you, if Laura had been Petrarch's wife,
He would have written sonnets all his life?

Religio preperit scelerosa atque impia facta (*Lucretius*)—
Sed mulier, cupido quod dicit amanti
In vento, et rapida scribere oportet aqua (*Ovid*)—
She can change her
Mind like the wind; whatever she has said
Or done is light to what she'll say or do.

Sine Cerere et Baccho, fugit Venus—
Some good lessons
Are also learnt from Ceres and from Bacchus,
Without whom Venus will not long attack us.

Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis—
Foes, friends, men, women now are nought to me
But dreams of what has been, no more to be.

Ubi amor, ibi oculus.
His eyes
Were with his heart, and that was far away.

Ubicunque nos ostentatur vista abesse videtur.
But thy true lovers more admire by far
Thy naked beauties—give me a cigar.

Velut inter ignes, luna, minores (*Horace*)—
A lady with her daughters or her nieces
Shines like a guinea 'mid seven shilling-pieces.

Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor (*Ovid*)—
I make a declaration every spring
Of reformation ere the year is out,
But somehow this my vestal vow takes wing.

Vitam impendere vero.
That father perished at the stake
For tenets he would not forsake.

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CAMPBELL.

Certis rebus, certa signa præcurrunt.
Coming events cast their shadows before.

CHURCHILL.

Fœcundi calices quem non fecere disertum? (*Horace*)—
Whom drink made wits, though Nature made them fools.

In re anata animo si bono utere adjuvat (*Plautus*)—
Patience is sorrow's salve.

Natura beatis omnibus esse dedit in quis cognoverit uti (*Claudian*)—
Ourselves are to ourselves the cause of ill.

Patimurque damusque vicissim—
Mutually giving and receiving aid.
They set each other off like light and shade.

COLERIDGE.

Certis rebus, certa signa præcurrunt.
Often do the spirits
Of great events stride on before the events,
And in to-day already walks to-morrow.

CONGREVE.

Carpe diem—
Defer not till to-morrow to be wise;
To-morrow's sun to thee may never rise.

Implacabiles plerumque læsæ mulieres—
Earth has no rage like love to hatred turned,
And hell no fury like a woman scorned.

COWLEY.

Natura dedit agros, ars humana ædificavit urbes (*Varro*)—
God the first garden made, and the first city, man.

Nec otia, divitiis Arabum, liberrime muto (*Horace*)—
Who that hath reason and his smell
Would not among roses and jasmine dwell?

Odi profanum vulgus et areco (*Horace*)—
Hence, ye profane—I hate ye all,
Both the great vulgar, and the small.

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Qui non est hodie, cras minus aptus erit (*Martial*)—
Our yesterday's to-morrow now is gone,
And still a new to-morrow does come on;
We by to-morrow draw out all our store,
Till the exhausted well can yield no more.

Quo plus habent, eo plus cupiunt—
Much will always wanting be
To him who much desires.

COWPER.

Est quoque multarum varietas carissima rerum (*Ovid*)—
Variety's the very spice of life,
That gives it all its flavour.

Fortuna nimium quem fovit, stultum fecit (*Syrius*)—
How much a dunce that has been sent to roam
Excels a dunce that has been kept at home!

Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto—
Skins may differ, but affection
Dwells in white and black the same.

Inops, potentem dum vult imitari, perit (*Phædrus*)—
Dress drains our cellar dry,
And keeps our larder lean.

Mensque pati durum sustinet ægra nihil (*Ovid*)—
The tear that is wiped with a little address
May be followed perhaps by a smile.

Natura dedit agros, ars humana ædificavit urbes (*Varro*)—
God made the country, and man made the town.

Neque dignus est venia, qui nemini dat veniam (*Seneca*)—
Mercy to him that shows it is the rule.

Tota domus rheda componitur una (*Juvenal*)—
My sister and my sister's child,
Myself and children three,
Will fill the chaise, so you must ride
On horseback after we.

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CUNNINGHAM.

Festucam ex oculo alterius defices—
The faults of our neighbours with freedom we blame,
But tax not ourselves though we practise the same.

DRYDEN.

Furor fit læsa sæpius sapientia—
Beware the fury of a patient man.

Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos (*Virgil*)—
To tame the proud, the fettered slave to free,
These are imperial acts.

Proprium humani est, odisse quem læseris (*Tacitus*)—
Forgiveness to the injured does belong,
But they ne'er pardon who have done the wrong.

Quemvis hominum secum adtulit ad nos (*Juvenal*)—
A man so various, that he seemed to be
Not one, but all mankind's epitome.

Si damnosa senem juvat alea, ludit et hæres (*Juvenal*)—
If gaming does an aged sire entice,
Then my young master swiftly learns the vice.

Tu, quamcunque Deus tibi fortunaverit horum,
Grata sume manu, nec dulcia differ in annum (*Horace*)—
Take the goods the gods provide thee.

R. EDWARDS.

Cithera tollit curas—
Where gripinge grefes y^e^ hart would wounde,
And doleful domps y^e^ mind oppresse,
There Musicke with her silver sound
Is wont with spede to send redresse.

GAY.

Asinus asino suo sui pulcher et sui unique pulcherior—
Where's the mother
Would give her baby for another?

Figulus figulo invidit, faber fabro—
In every age and clime we see
Two of a trade can ne'er agree.

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Infra tuam pelliculam te contine—
Who dainties love shall beggars prove.

Ne depugnas in alieno negotio—
Those who in quarrels interpose
Must often wipe a bloody nose.

Tigridis evita sodalitatem—
All those must such delights expect to share
Who for their friend think fit to take a bear.

GRAY.

Carpe diem—
We frolic while 'tis May.

Certe, ignoratio futurorum malorum utilior est, quam scientia—
Where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise.

Res angusta domi—
Chill penury repressed their noble rage,
And froze the genial current of the soul.

SIR T. HARRINGTON.

Prosperum et felix scelus, virtus vocatur (*Seneca*)—
Treason never prospers: what's the reason?
Why, when it prospers, none dare call it treason.

HEBER.

Mors omnibus communis—
Death rides on every passing breeze,
He lurks in every flower.

HERRICK.

Dona præsentis rape lætus horæ (*Horace*)—
Gather the rosebuds while you may,
Old Time is still a-flying,
And the same flower that blooms to-day
To-morrow may be dying.

Finis coronat opus—
'Tis not the fight that crowns us, but the end.

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HOOD.

Albæ gallinæ filius—

She was one of those who, by Fortune's boon,
Are born, as they say, with a silver spoon
In her mouth—not a common ladle.

Cornice loquacior—

Mere verbiage—it is not worth a carrot:
Why, Socrates or Plato—where's the odds?—
Once taught a jay to supplicate the gods,
And made a Polly-theist of a parrot!

Habent insidias homines, blanditiæ mala (*Plautus*)—

Rogue that I am, he whispered to himself;
I lie, I cheat, do anything for pelf;
But who on earth can say I am not pious?

Insania non omnibus eadem—

Who backs his rigid Sabbath, so to speak,
Against the wicked remnant of the week.

Malus, bonum ubi se simulat, tunc est pessimus (*Syrus*)—

A man may cry "Church, Church!" at every word,
With no more piety than other people.
A daw's not reckoned a religious bird
Because he keeps caw-cawing from a steeple.

Medio de fonte leporum,
Surgit amari aliquid, quod in ipsis floribus auget (*Lucretius*)—

There's not a string attuned to mirth
But has its chord in melancholy.

Mel satietatem giguit—

Poor Peggy hawks nosegays from street to street,
Till—think of that, ye who find life so sweet!—
She hates the smell of roses.

Nec placidam membris dat cura quietem (*Virgil*)—

At night, to his own sharp fancies a prey,
He lies like a hedgehog rolled up the wrong way,
Tormenting himself with his prickles.

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DR JOHNSON.

Haud facile emergunt quorum virtutibus obstet
Res angusta domi—
How rises worth by poverty depressed.

Temperatæ suaves argutiæ, immodice offendunt (*Phædrus*)—
Of all the griefs that harass the distrest,
Sure the most bitter is a scornful jest.

KEATS.

Omne pulchrum amabile—
A thing of beauty is a joy for ever.

BEN JONSON.

Honesta quædam scelera sanctus facit (*Seneca*)—
Let them call it mutiny;
When it is past and prospered, 'twill be virtue.

Ossa ab ore rapta jejuni canis—
I from the jaws of a gardener's bitch
Snatched the bone, and then leaped the ditch.

LONGFELLOW.

Ars longa, vita brevis—
Art is long, but time is fleeting.

Aspera vita, sed salubris—
Something attempted, something done,
Has earned a night's repose.

Homini diligenti, semper aliquod superest—
Labour with what zeal we will,
Something still remains undone,
Something uncompleted still
Waits the rising of the sun.

Hora fuit—
Life, like an empty dream, flits by.

Jam fuerit, nec post umquam revocare possit (*Lucretius*)—
Swiftly our pleasures glide away,
Our hearts recall the distant day
With many sighs.

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Labor ipsa voluptas—

No endeavour is in vain ;
Its reward is in the doing.

Lacryma nihil citius transit—

Behind the clouds is the sun still shining.

Nihil est ab omni parte beatum—

Into each life some rain must fall,
Some days must be dark and dreary.

Omne ignotum pro magnifico—

The mighty pyramids of stone
That wedge-like cleave the desert airs,
When nearer seen and better known,
Are but gigantic flights of stairs.

Omnia mundana nugas æstima—

Behold of what delusive worth
The bubbles we pursue on earth,
The shapes we chase.

Perfer et obdura (*Ovid*)—

Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labour and to wait.

Probitas laudatur, et alget (*Juvenal*)—

A life of honour and of worth
Has no eternity on earth—
'Tis but a name.

Tentando ad Trojam venere Pelasgi—

We have not wings, we cannot soar ;
But we have feet to scale and climb,
By slow degrees, and more and more,
The cloudy summits of our time.

MACAULAY.

Pro aris et focis—

How can man do better
Than facing fearful odds
For the ashes of his fathers
And the temples of his gods ?

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MILMAN.

Attritus galea—

I have been a soldier,
Till the helm hath worn these aged temples bare.

Quem di diligunt, adolescens moritur (*Plautus*)—

The less of this cold world, the more of heaven.

MILTON.

Dulce resistens—

Yielded with coy submission, modest pride,
And sweet, reluctant, amorous delay.

Dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt (*Horace*)—

What boots it at one gate to make defence
And at another to let in the foe?

Fama nihil est celerius (*Livy*)—

For evil news rides post, while good news halts.

Feriuntque summos fulmina montes—

Who aspires must down as low
As he who soars.

Flemitam habes excerbes (*Juvenal*)—

Two other precious drops, that ready stood,
Each in their crystal sluice, he, ere they fell,
Kissed.

Habent insidias hominis blanditiæ male (*Plautus*)—

All was false and hollow, through his tongue
Dropt manna, and could make the worse appear
The better reason.

In vitium ducit culpæ fuga, si caret arte (*Horace*)—

But what availed this temperance not complete
Against another object more enticing?

Ingens telum necessitas—

The strongest and the fiercest spirit
That fought in heaven, now fiercer by despair.

Necessitas non habet legem—

And with necessity,
The tyrant's plea, excused his devilish deeds.

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Pungit tranquilla potestas, quod violenta nequit (*Claudius*)—
Who overcomes
By force, hath overcome but half his foe.

Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Calignosa nocte premit Deus (*Horace*)—
Let no man seek
Henceforth to be foretold what shall befall
His children.

Quando ullum invenient parem? (*Horace*)—
For Lycidas is dead, and ere his prime—
Young Lycidas, and hath not left his peer.

Quantum mutatus ab illo—
How fallen, how changed,
From him who in the happy realms of light,
Clothed with transcendent brightness, did outshine
Myriads, though bright.

Risu emoreri—
Laughter holding both his sides.

Satietas ferociam parit—
Then wander forth the sons
Of Belial, flown with insolence and wine.

Sed quam continuis et quantis longa senectus
Plena malis! (*Juvenal*)—
For the air of youth,
Hopeful and cheerful, in thy blood will reign
A melancholy damp of cold and dry,
To weigh thy spirits down, and last consume
The balm of life.

Tolluntur in altum, ut lapsa graviore ruant (*Claudius*)—
With diadem and sceptre high adorned,
The lower still I fall; only supreme
In misery: such joy ambition finds.

Vincit qui se vincit—
Who reigns within himself, and rules
Passions, desires, and fears, is more a king.

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MOORE.

Ætate prudentiores reddimur—

Time flies; as he flies, adds increase to her truth,
And gives to her mind what he steals from her youth.

Calamitosus est animus futuri anxius—

Round, round, while thus we go round,
The best thing a man can do
Is to make it at least a merry-go-round
By sending the wine round too.

Carpe diem—

Then fill the bowl, away with gloom!
Our joys shall always last;
For hope shall brighten days to come,
And memory gild the past.

Cum jocus est verus, jocus est malus atque severus—

Whose wit in the combat, as gentle as bright,
Ne'er carried a heart-stain away on its blade.

Heu! quanto minimum est cum reliquis morari
Quam tui meminisse—

To live with them is far less sweet
Than to remember thee.

Illicita amantur; excedit, quidquid licet (*Seneca*)—

Bliss itself is not worth having
If we're by compulsion blest.

Pariendum est animo, miserabile vulnus habenti (*Ovid*)—

The pain
Remembrance gives when the fix'd dart
Is stirred thus in the wound again.

Post nubila Phœbus—

How calm, how beautiful, comes on
The stilly hour when storms are gone.

Quid sit futurum cras, fuge quærere (*Horace*)—

To-night, at least to-night, be gay,
Whate'er to-morrow brings.

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Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem
Testa diu (*Horace*)—

You may break, you may shatter, the vase as you will,
But the scent of the roses will hang round it still.

Quem pœnitet peccasse, pœnâ est innocens (*Seneca*)—

Blest tears of soul-felt penitence,
In whose benign redeeming flow
Is felt the first, the only sense,
Of guiltless joy that guilt can know.

HANNAH MORE.

Principiis obsta: sero medicina paratur,
Cum mala per longas convaluere moras (*Ovid*)—

Small habits well pursued betimes,
May reach the dignity of crimes.

PARNELL.

Cras amet, qui nunquam amavit
Quique amavit, cras amet—

Let those love now who never loved before;
Let those who always loved now love the more.

POPE.

Frustra vitium vitaveris illud,
Si te alio pravum detorseris (*Horace*)—

'Tis all in vain to keep a constant pother
About one vice, and fall into another.

Infirmi est animi exiguique voluptas, ultio (*Juvenal*)—

To err is human, to forgive divine.

Malefacere qui vult, nunquam non causam invenit (*Syrus*)—

But when to mischief mortals bend their will
How soon they find fit instruments of ill.

Multa verba, modica fides—

Friend, for your epitaph I'm grieved,
Where still so much is said;
One half will never be believed,
The other never read.

Nemo malus felix minime corruptus—

Virtue alone is happiness below.

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Nihil tam firmum est, cui periculum non sit etiam ab invalido (*Quintus Curtius*)—

A fly, a grape-stone, or a hair can kill.

Parva leves capiunt animos (*Ovid*)—

Pleased with a rattle, tickled with a straw.

Quærenda pecunia primum, virtus post nummos (*Horace*)—

Get money, money still,
And then let virtue follow if she will.

Qui dedit beneficium taceat ; qui accipet narret—

Do good by stealth, and blush to find it fame.

Who builds a church to God, and not to fame,
Should never mark the marble with his name.

Rem facias: rem si possis recte, si non quocunque modo rem (*Horace*)—

Get wealth and power, if possible, with grace ;
If not, by any means get wealth and place.

Risus abundat in ore stultorum—

And gentle dulness ever loves a joke.

Spes bona dat vires animarum, quemque spes bona firmat,
Vivere spe vidi, qui moriturus erat—

Hope springs eternal in the human breast :
Man never is, but always to be blest.

Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis—

Manners with fortunes, humours turn with climes,
Tenets with books, and principles with times.

Laudatione tua labeculam aspergere (*Cicero*)—

Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer,
And without sneering teach the rest to sneer.

PORTEOUS.

Ille crucem sceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema (*Juvenal*)—

One murder makes a villain,
Numbers a hero.

PRIOR.

Omnis potestas impatiens consortis est—

Love, well thou knowest, no partnership allows ;
Cupid, averse, rejects divided vows.

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Quæ sua sors hodie est, cras fore vestra potest—
Such as she is who died to-day,
Such thou, alas! may'st be to-morrow.

Qui dedit beneficium, narret qui accepit (*Seneca*)—
To John I owed great obligation,
But John unhandsomely thought fit
To publish it to all the nation;
Sure John and I are more than quit.

Quid sit futurum cras, fuge quærere (*Horace*)—
Love and life are for to-day.

Vir fugiens et denuo pugnavit—
Deeper to wound, she shuns the fight;
She drops her arms to gain the field;
Secures her conquest by her flight,
And triumphs when she seems to yield.

QUARLES.

Fures privati in nervo, publici in auro—
Poor thieves in halters we behold,
And great thieves in their chains of gold.

Homo et mulier, ignis et portea—
When two agree in the desire,
One spark will set them both on fire.

Impia sub dulci melle, venena latent (*Ovid*)—
And he repents on thorns
That sleeps on beds of roses.

ROGERS.

Periisset nisi periisset—
The good are better made by ill,
And roses crushed are sweeter still,

ROSCOMMON.

Nescit vox missa reverti (*Horace*)—
What you keep by you, you may change and mend,
But words once spoke can never be recalled.

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Sint sales sine vilitate—

Immodest words admit of no defence,
For want of decency is want of sense.

SCOTT.

Age, libertate Decembri

Quando ita majores voluerunt, utere (*Horace*)—

Each age has deemed the new-born year
The fittest time for festal cheer.
'Twas Christmas broached the mightiest ale;
'Twas Christmas told the merriest tale.
Heap on more wood! the wind is chill!
But let it whistle as it will,
We'll keep up Christmas merry still.

Cithera tollit curas—

Little we heed the tempest drear
While music, mirth, and social cheer
Speed on their wings the passing year.

Deus, quos diliget, castigat—

Then happy those, beloved of Heaven,
To whom the mingled cup is given;
Whose lenient sorrows find relief,
Whose joys are chastened by their grief.

Dissolve frigus, ligna super foco large reponens (*Horace*)—

The fire, with well-dried logs supplied,
Went roaring up the chimney wide.

Domi leones—

To beard the lion in his den,
The Douglas in his hall.

Eheu! fugaces labuntur anni (*Horace*)—

Time rolls his ceaseless course.

Eodem in ludo docti—

Tamed with the same stick.

Est quædam flere voluptas—

With a smile on her lip and a tear in her eye.

Fallacia alia aliam trudit—

Oh, what a tangled web we weave
When first we practise to deceive!

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Forsan et hæc olim meminisse juvabit—
So now, the danger dared at last,
Look back and smile at perils past.

Gravis ira regum semper—
The ire of a despotic king
Rides forth upon destruction's wing.

In vestimentis, non stat sapientia mentis—
Worship and birth to me are known,
By look, by learning, and by tone,
Not by furred robe or broidered gown.

Magnus sine viribus ignis, incassum perit (*Virgil*)—
And quick his colour went and came
As fear and hate alternate rose.

Necesse est cum insanientibus furere, nisi solus relinqueris—
But he whose humours spurn law's awful yoke,
Must herd with those by whom law's bonds are broke.

Neque fœmina, amissa pudentia, dia abmoverit (*Tacitus*)—
We hold our greyhound in our hand,
Our falcons on our glove;
But where shall we find leash or band
For dame that loves to rove?

Nescis quâ, natale solum, dulcedine, mentem
Tanget, et immemorem non sinit esse sui (*Ovid*)—
Breathes there a man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
"This is my own, my native land?"

Nugæ seria ducent—
Where lives the man who hath not tried
How mirth can into folly glide,
And folly into sin?
Or wherefore trace from what slight cause
Its source one tyrant passion draws,
Till mastering all within?

Nulla est sincera voluptas—
But ask not thou if happiness be there,
If the loud laugh disguise convulsive throe,
Or if the brow the heart's true livery wear?

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Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero pulsanda tellus—
Fill the bright goblet, spread the festive board.
They dance, they revel, and they sing,
Till the rude turrets shake and ring.

Nunquam te fallant, animi sub vulpe latentes—
But in the glances of her eye
A penetrating, keen, and sly
Expression found its home.

Omnia vincit, nos et cedamus amori (*Ovid*)—
But he who stems a stream with sand,
And fetters flame with flaxen band,
Has yet a harder task to prove,
By firm resolve to conquer love.

Quid non possit amor!—
Love rules the court, the camp, the grove,
And men below, and saints above:
For love is heaven, and heaven is love.

Regia, crede mihi, res est, succurrere lapsis (*Ovid*)—
The monarch drank, that happy hour,
The sweetest, noblest, draught of power.

Repente tanquam procella—
Just then, as by the tumult riven,
Poured down at once the lowering heaven.

Res satis est nota, plus fætent stercosa mota—
Let that flea stick i' the wa';
When the dirt's dry, it'll rub out.

Varium et mutabile semper fœmina—
O woman! in our hours of ease
Uncertain, coy, and hard to please,
And variable as the shade
By the light, quivering aspen made.

Virtus quæ facilem passa—
But why pursue the common tale,
Or wherefore show how knights prevail,
When ladies deign to hear?

Virtus vel in hoste laudatur—
The stern delight that warriors feel
In foemen worthy of their steel.

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SCRIPTURE TEXTS FROM CLASSICAL SOURCES.

Corrumpunt bonos mores colloquia prava—
Evil communications corrupt good manners.

Deus quos diligit, castigat—
Whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth.

Est proprium stultitiæ, aliorum vitia cornere, oblivisci suorum (*Cicero*)—
Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?

Exigua est virtus, præstare silentia rebus,
At contra, gravis est culpa, tacenda loqui (*Ovid*)—
He that keepeth his mouth keepeth his life; but he that openeth wide his lips shall have destruction.

Favore et benevolentia, etiam immanis animus, mansuerat—
A soft answer turneth away wrath.

In sudore vultus tui, comedes panem tuum—
In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat thy bread.

Nesciat manus dextra, quid faciat sinistra—
Let not thy right hand know what thy left hand doeth.

Ubi cadaver, ibi erunt et aquilæ—
Where the body is there will the eagles be gathered together.

SHELLEY.

De re amissâ irreparabili, ne doleas—
Fear not the future, weep not for the past.

Sæpe in magistrum scelera redierunt sua (*Seneca*)—
Revenge and wrong bring forth their kind;
The foul cubs like their parents are.

SHENSTONE.

Pulchriorum autumnus pulcher—
As withered roses yield a late perfume.

SHIRLEY.

Mors sceptra ligonibus æquat—
Sceptre and crown must tumble down,
And in the dust be equal made
With the poor crooked scythe and spade.

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N. SMITH.

Qui semel aspexit quantum dimissa petitis
Præstent, mature redeat, repetatque relicta (*Horace*)—
He told me once,
The saddest thing that can befall the soul
Is when it loses faith in God and woman,
For he had lost them both. Lost I those gems,
Though the world's throne stood open in my path,
I would go wandering back into my childhood,
Searching for them with tears.

Regia, crede mihi res est, succurrere lapsis (*Ovid*)—
The peasants thanked her with their tears
When food and clothes were given.
This is a joy, the lady said,
Saints cannot taste in heaven.

SMOLLET.

In rebus dubiis plurimi est audacia (*Syrus*)—
Who bravely dares must sometimes risk a fall.

SWAIN.

Calamitosus est animus, futuri anxius—
Let to-morrow take care of to-morrow;
Leave things of the future to fate.
What's the use to anticipate sorrow?
Life's troubles come never too late.

TENNYSON.

Barba tenus sapientes—
With no more sign of wisdom than a beard.

Corruptio optimi pessima—
For men, at worst, differ as heaven and earth;
But women, worst and best, as heaven and hell.

Dissolve frigus, ligna super foco large reponens (*Horace*)—
Bring in great logs, and let them lie,
To make a solid core of heat.

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Dolor hic tibi proderit olim—
The far-off interest of tears.

E cantu digna dicitur avis—
As the sweet voice of a bird,
Heard by the lander in a lonely isle,
Moves him to think what kind of bird it is
That sings so delicately clear, and make
Conjecture of the plumage and the form.

Est quædam flere voluptas (*Ovid*)—
Like summer tempest came her tears:
Sweet, my child! I'll live for thee.

Et canis, in somnis, leporis vestigia latrat—
Like a dog he hunts in dreams.

Falsa veris finitima sunt (*Cicero*)—
A lie that is half a truth is ever the blackest of lies.

Fortiter malum qui patitur, post potitur bonum (*Plautus*)—
He shall find the rugged thistle bursting
Into glossy purples, that out-redden
All voluptuous garden roses.

Fortuna, nunquam perpetua est bona—
Turn, Fortune, turn thy wheel, and lower the proud.

Furis passu progredi—
Treading softly, like a thief,
Lest the harsh shingle should grate under foot,
And feeling all along the garden wall.

Jam fuit, nec post unquam revocare licebit (*Lucretius*)—
'Tis gone: a thousand such have slipt
Away from my embraces,
And fallen into the dusky crypt
Of darkened forms and faces.

Miserum est fuisse—
This is truth the poet sings,
That a sinner's crown of sorrow is remembering happier things.

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Nam genus, et proavos, et quæ non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra voco (*Ovid*)—

Fall back upon a name? rest, rot in that?
Not keep it noble—make it nobler? Fools!

Nam quod uni profecit, hoc aliis erat exitiio—

But that old man who is lord of the broad estate and the hall
Dropped off gorged from a scheme which left us flaccid and drained.

Neglecta solent incendia sumere vires (*Horace*)—

To pluck the vinous quitch
Of blood and customs wholly out of him,
And make all clean, and plant himself afresh.

Nihil sub sole novi—

And on her lover's arm she leant,
And round her waist she felt it fold;
And far across the hills they went,
In that new world which is the old.

Non bene conveniunt, in unâ rhœdâ morantur
Majestas et amor (*Ovid*)—

In robe and crown the king stepped down
To meet and greet her on her way.

Nullo sirpo joculari—

Is it within a helmless bark?

Nunc non e tumulo fortunataque favella
Nascentur violæ (*Persius*)—

And from his ashes may be made
The violet of his native land.

Numquam te fallant, animi sub vulpe latentes (*Horace*)—

Modred's narrow, foxy face,
Heart-hiding smile, and grey persistent eye.

Quidquid calcaverit hic, rosa fiat (*Persius*)—

You have but fed on the roses, and lain in the lilies of life.

Rex eris, si recte facies—

Howe'er it be, it seems to me,
'Tis only noble to be good;
Kind hearts are more than coronets,
And simple faith than Norman blood.

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Sensim, sine sensu, ætas senescit (*Cicero, a pretty alliterative*)—
While I plan and plan, my hair
Is grey before I know it.

Suavior est virgo quæ serpyllum, quam quæ moschum olet—
A simple maiden in her flower
Is worth a hundred coats of arms.

Sunt delicta tamen, quibus ignovisse velimus (*Horace*)—
Not perfect, nay, but full of tender wants.

Tædium vita—
She only said, My life is dreary;
He cometh not, she said.
She said, I am aweary, aweary;
O God! that I were dead!

Tempus omnia revelat—
The slow sweet hours that bring us all things good.

Tristis eris, si solus eris (*Ovid*)—
And there is a worm in the lonely wood
That pierces the liver and blackens the blood,
And makes it a sorrow to be.

Tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus (*Virgil*)—
The queen, who sat
With limbs severely placid, felt the knot
Climb in her throat, and, with her feet unseen,
Crushed the wild passion out against the floor.

Ubi libertas, ibi patria—
Should banded unions persecute
Opinions, and induce a time
When single thought is civil crime,
And individual freedom mute,
* * * * *
Then waft me from the harbour's mouth,
Wild wind; I seek a warmer sky.

Usus, est altera natura—
The fools of habit.

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Vestis virum fecit—
Let maiden never think, however fair,
She is not fairer in new clothes than old.

Victrix fortunæ sapientia (*Juvenal*)—
For man is man, and master of his fate.

Vilis sæpe cadus nobile nectar habet—
As shines the moon in clouded skies,
She in her poor attire was seen.

THOMSON.

Decor inemptus—
Loveliness
Needs not the foreign aid of ornament,
But is, when unadorn'd, adorned the most.

——ut malevolentes sunt, atque invideant bonos—
Base envy withers at another's joy,
And hates that excellence it cannot reach.

Gaudia, principium nostri sunt sæpe doloris (*Ovid*)—
Amidst the roses fierce Repentance rears
Her snaky crest.

Honesta, quædam scelera, successus fiat (*Seneca*)—
It is success that colours all in life.
Success makes fools admired, makes villains honest.

Casus plerumque ridiculus, multos elevavit—
A lucky chance that oft decides the fate
Of mighty monarchs.

Tolle jocos, non est jocus esse malignum—
The generous heart
Should scorn a pleasure which gives others pain.

SIR S. TUKE.

Nolunt, ubi velis; ubi noles, cupiunt ultro—
He is a fool who thinks by force or skill
To stop the current of a woman's will.

TUPPER.

Age, libertate Decembri, quando ita majores voluerunt, utere (*Horace*)—
At Christmas play and make good cheer,
For Christmas comes but once a year.

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WALLER.

Bis interimitur, qui suis armis peret (*Syrus*)—
That eagle's fate and mine were one,
Who, on the shaft that made him die,
Espied a feather of his own,
Wherewith he wont to soar on high.

WATTS.

Impia, sub dulci melle, venena latent (*Ovid*)—
The rills of pleasure never run sincere
(Earth has no unpolluted spring);
From the cursed soil some dangerous taint they bear,
As roses grow on thorns, and honey bears a sting.

KIRKE-WHITE.

Spes servat afflictos—
And sanguine Hope through every storm of life
Shoots her bright beams, and calms the internal strife.

WORDSWORTH.

Mors optima rapit, deterrima relinquit—
The good die first,
And those whose hearts are dry as summer dust
Burn to the socket.

Protinus apparet, quæ plantæ frugiferæ futura—
The child is father of the man.

Sunt delicta tamen, quibus ignovisse vetimur (*Horace*)—
A creature not too bright and good
For human nature's daily food.

YOUNG.

Deliberando sæpe perit occasio (*Syrus*)—
Be wise to-day; 'tis madness to defer.

Experientia docet—
The man of wisdom is the man of years.

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Fortiter malum qui patitur, post potitur bonum (*Plautus*)—

Life's cares are comforts, each by Heaven designed;
He that has none must make them, or be wretched.

Ille crucem sceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema—

One to destroy is murder by the law,
And gibbets keep the lifted hand in awe.
To murder thousands takes a specious name—
War's glorious art, and gives immortal fame.

Infinita est velocitas temporis, quæ magis apparet recipientibus (*Seneca*)—

We take no note of time but from its loss.

Malis mala succedunt—

Woes cluster; rare are solitary woes:
They love a train—they tread each other's heel.

Quem Di diligunt adolescens moritur (*Plautus*)—

Early, bright, transient, pure as morning dew,
She sparkled, was exhaled, and went to heaven.

Qui non est hodie, cras minus aptus erit (*Martial*)—

Procrastination is the thief of time.

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MEMORIALS OF DR JOHN OLD, THE REFORMER.

By WILLIAM WATKINS OLD, Esq., F.R.H.S.

In 1863 a correspondent in *Notes and Queries* inserted the following entry from "Mr James Haig's List of Books published in England prior to the year M.D.C., in the Library of the King's Inns, Dublin, 1858, p. 14:"—

"Olde, John. The acquital or purgation of the most Catholycke Christen Prince Edwarde the VI., King of Englande, Fraunce, and Ireland, etc., and of the Churche of England refourmed and gouerned vnder hym, agaynst al suche as blasphemously and traitorously infame hym or the sayd Church of heresie or sedecion (by John Olde), imprinted at Waterford, the 7th day of Nouember 1555, 8vo."

And the correspondent proceeded to request information respecting the volume, which, he observed, was stated in "Lowndes' Bibliographer's Manual" to be the work of John Bale, and supposed to be the second book printed in Ireland.

In reply there was a short notice of the book, with a few remarks upon the author.

"John Olde," it said, "was presented by the Duchess of Somerset to the vicarage of Cubington, co. Warwick, and was a prebendary of Lichfield. In the reign of Queen Mary he became an exile for religion."

A very brief memoir, the above! And, after ten years of inquiry and research, I fear I am not able to add much to what is here stated. Nevertheless, I think it may not be uninteresting or useless to record the result of my examinations, as far as they go: and, by throwing a little more light upon the history of one of the pillars of our English Reformation, I may perhaps be the means of drawing the attention

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of others to the matter, and may thus evoke that direct information respecting this worthy member of the family of Old which I myself, in all my genealogical collections, have failed to obtain.

That the friend of Latimer should have no biography beyond a few detached sentences in the pages of Strype, that the name of the translator of considerable portions of the New Testament (the *collaborateur* of Miles Coverdale) should scarcely find a place in any English Biographical Dictionary, seems to call for the aid of such a Society as the Royal Historical, one of whose main objects is to rescue from oblivion the memories of lesser celebrities, and to illustrate the half-explored paths of national and provincial history.

Dr John Old, the Reformer, was born about the commencement of the sixteenth century. His name does not appear in the family pedigree, but I have reason to believe he was a son of John Olde of Sheriffhales, in Shropshire, which had been the family residence for over a hundred and fifty years, having been purchased by Roger Old in the twenty-fifth year of Edward III.

I do not know the Rev. William Cole's authority for placing John Old in his "Alphabetical Collection for an Athenæ Cantabrigienses" (Add. MSS. 5877, p. 10, British Museum), but I suppose there is no doubt he studied at Cambridge. I understand there are no early lists of Cambridge graduates, and those of Oxford do not begin till 1561. It was probably at Cambridge that Old made the acquaintance of Hugh Latimer, Thomas Becon, and other of his associates.

It is not before 1540 that I meet with direct notices of Dr John Old. It would appear he was then in priest's orders, living in the county of Stafford. Sheriffhales, it should be remembered, is in the two counties of Salop and Stafford. From the writings of Thomas Becon we learn that he and Robert Wisdome, and others of the early Reformers, were in the habit of staying at the house of John Old. And from the glimpses they afford us of his character, he would seem to have been a man of great amiability and much influence.

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"For I found him in the house of a certain faithful brother, called John Old," says Becon in his "Jewel of Joy,"—"a man old in name, notwithstanding young in years, and yet ancient in true godliness and Christian life."

In the memoir of Thomas Becon prefixed to his works, published by the Parker Society, Cambridge, 1843, we read in reference to the above passage—

"While in the Peak, Becon learned that Robert Wisdome was in Staffordshire. It was in the house of John Old, a faithful brother, that Wisdome was, and with equal hospitality and good-will did Old entertain Becon."

The following year, 1542, John Old had removed into Warwickshire, as we gather from Becon's "Jewel of Joy."

"After I had consumed a year in that country, I departed into Warwickshire, where, in like manner as afore, I freely enjoyed the liberality of my most sweet and dear friend John Olde, which, impelled by urgent causes, departed into that country for to inhabit."

And in the above-mentioned memoir—

"Becon afterwards removed into Warwickshire, where he was employed as a tutor to gentlemen's sons, and also again participated in the hospitality of John Old, who was a resident in this county."

From the preface to John Old's "Confession of the most Auncient and True Christian Catholicke Olde Beliefe," published in 1556, we learn it was in the town of Coventry that Old was situated at this period.

In Strype's "Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer," vol. i., p. 397, the following characteristic passages occur, touching on the above:—

"The fourth was Robert Wisdome. There, in Staffordshire, he was one of those who were entertained by John Old, a pious professor and harbourer of good men. And Thomas Becon was another, who was taken up with Bradford in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, and committed to the Tower. Of this Old, the said Becon, in a treatise of his ("The Jewel of Joy") printed in Edward VI.'s reign, gives this character: 'That he was to him and Wisdome as Jason

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was to Paul and Silas. He received us joyfully into his house, and liberally, for the Lord's sake, ministered all good things to our necessities. And as he began, so did he continue, a right hearty friend and dearly loving brother, so long as we remained in the country.'"

It is almost strange that Strype does not give us more information respecting John Old. He remarks ("Memorials Ecclesiastical," vol. ii., part i., p. 47) that Old "seems to have been a teacher of youth as well as a teacher of the Gospel," but he adds very little to the history of the man.

In 1546 (old style) a royal visitation was ordered, and John Old was nominated registrar of the diocese of Lichfield in connection with it. We may infer, therefore, he returned into Staffordshire, or rather, perhaps, was moving about from place to place, as Bishop Tanner, in his "Bibliotheca Britannico Hibernica," London, 1748, fol., states:—

"Fuit unus ex prædicatoribus itinerantibus et comitatus est regios visitatores in agrum *Lincoln*,"

which last word is, I fancy, a slip for *Lichfield*.

Strype, speaking of this king's visitation, remarks ("Life of Archbishop Cranmer," vol. i., p. 208):—

"The persons nominated for this present employment were three as I find them set down in a MS., formerly belonging to Archbishop Parker, but now in the Benet College Library, where you may observe the visitors were divided into six sets, and to each set were apportioned particular episcopal sees, and a preacher and a register in this exact manner following."

In the list of names he records—

"John Old, Register, Lichfield."

From the fact of his being thus chosen immediately on the accession of Edward VI., when the Protestant party were making renewed efforts to establish their cause, there can be little doubt that Old had already, during the reign of Henry VIII., distinguished himself on behalf of the Reformed faith, and was known beyond the circle of his social influence as one of the leaders in the great religious movement of the day.

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In 1548 Anne Duchess of Somerset presented Old to the vicarage of Cubbington, in Warwickshire, at the request of Bishop Latimer. This is a parish near Leamington, and about seven miles from Coventry, where Old had lately been residing. In the list of incumbents of Cubbington in Dugdale's "Antiquities of Warwickshire" is the entry of Old's appointment:—

"Edw. VI. Rex Angl. Magr. John Olde xxii Martii 1548, v. p. m. Thom. Stevynson."

The same year "the first tome" of the paraphrase of Erasmus upon the Epistles and other parts of the New Testament, by Miles Coverdale, J. O. (John Old), and others, folio, was published. The following year, 1549, the second volume, which was almost entirely the work of John Old, came out. In the preface to the Christian reader, dated 15th July 1549, before the Epistle to the Ephesians, addressed to Anne Duchess of Somerset, Old thanks her Grace for preferring him lately to the vicarage of Cubbington, in Warwickshire, at the suit of his "singular friend," Dr Hugh Latimer. The Duchess was the second wife of Edward Seymour the Protector, and daughter and heiress of Sir Edward Stanhope, Knt., of Shelford, co. Notts, by Elizabeth his wife, great-grand-daughter of William Boucher, Earl of Ewe, in Normandy.

In Strype's "Memorials Ecclesiastical," vol. ii., part i., p. 47, he notices Old's work of translating, and his presentation to a living.

"John Old, who also seems to have been a teacher of youth as well as a teacher of the Gospel, was preferred to the vicarage of Cobington, in Warwickshire, by the Duchess of Somerset, at the suit of Hugh Latymer, translated the paraphrase upon all the canonical Epistles, and dedicated them to the said Duchess, anno 1549. Beside these, he translated also seven of St Paul's Epistles, thus paraphrased, namely, to the Ephesians, the Philippians, both to the Thessalonians, both to Timothy, and to Philemon, which he did at the solicitation of Edward Whitchurch, an eminent printer of church books in this time, who came to him, and told him that none were yet appointed to translate those epistles, and that it was necessary the whole volume should be finished and printed off by such a time (which drew on),

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according to the King's injunctions, which enjoined every priest, under such a degree in the schools, to read them. Before the Epistle to the Ephesians, the translator hath a prologue to the reader."

Erasmus' paraphrase was to be found in almost every church library of this date. In the book of extracts from the parish records of Great St Mary's, Cambridge (Cole MSS., vol. xlvii., Brit. Museum), is the entry, under the date 1550:—

"Item for ye Paraffrys of Erasmus, 6s. 6d.;"

and I have met with similar notices in various registers in the south-west of England.

Bale, in his "Troubles of Frankfort," and Tanner, in his "Bibliotheca Britannico Hibernica," both state that John Old also translated the paraphrase on the Epistles to the Colossians, to Titus, and the Hebrews. That to Titus, however, as Oldys, the antiquary, has pointed out, was the work of Leonard Coxe, who, in his preface, speaks of John Old as "a man of right good learning."

In 1551 Old was granted the Dernford prebendal stall in Lichfield Cathedral, notice of which appears in Harwood's "History of Lichfield," ed. 1806, p. 225:—

"Dernford.—John Old, August 19, 1551, Vicar of Cubington. He was deprived in 1554."

The following year he received commission to a canonship of Hereford Cathedral, noticed by Strype in his "Memorials Ecclesiastical," vol. ii., part i., p. 47:—

"This man, being a Doctor of Divinity, got a prebend in the church of Hereford, but not before 1552."

And further on, vol. ii., part ii., p. 273:—

"A grant to John Old, D.D., for life, of the canonship or prebend in the cathedral church of Hereford, void by the death of Anthony Bellasis, and in the King's gift, by vacation of the said bishopric. Dated in September, and sealed October 4, 1552."

Among the Cotton MSS., British Museum (Julius, b. 9, fol. 87), is a book of patents, headed, "Vicesimo secundo die mens

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Decembr aº dni. milesimo qungentesimo qunquagesimo prĭmo aº quinto serenissimi Regis nri. Anglie, Edwardi sexti," etc. And from it I extract the grant itself:—

"A patent granted to Jo. Olde, clerk, doctor of divinitie, of the canonshipp or prebend in the cathedral church of hereford now voyd, now voyd by the deth of Anthonie Bellaisis, & in the King's maies gift by the vacancy of the Busshoprick of hereford. Sigill. in Octobr Aº R. R. E. VIº."

In the list of patents of Edward VI. at the Record Office, are also two notices of this presentation (o. Aº. 6, Nos. 85 and 89):—

"85. K. iiij die Octobris: Dom. John Olde prebend in ecclesia collegia herefd. ad vitam suam."

"95. P. v die Octobris dom. John Olde pbend. in eccles. de heref. ad vit."

The Rev. Francis Havergal, of Hereford, author of "Fasti Herefordenses," in which work he records the above grant in a foot-note (p. 91), informs me he can find no trace of Dr John Old in the chapter act books or other documents of Hereford Cathedral, and he is of opinion that Old was never installed. At the same time he observes the stall might have been held by him together with Dernford, as in olden times such plurality was not uncommon.

It is curious also that the name of Anthonie Bellaisis (incorrectly entered by Mr Havergal in the above-mentioned foot-note as "Anthonne Bellows") does not occur in the Hereford records. Bellaisis held the stall of Timberscomb in Wells Cathedral in 1546; and the word "Hereford," one might think, may have crept in by mistake for Wells, but for the repetition, and the mention of the vacancy caused by the death of Bishop Skip, March 30, 1552.

I have caused inquiries to be instituted as to whether any memorials of Old's connection with the parish of Cubbington are to be found there. But it appears the first vicar's name entered in the church register occurs thirty or forty years after the period in question, nor is there any entry of the name of

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Old, nor any monuments of so early an epoch as the sixteenth century.

Within one month of Queen Mary's accession to the throne in 1553, Old's friends and party began to feel the weight of her displeasure.

Saturday, August the 5th, his commender, Dr Leonard Coxe, was committed to the Marshalsea. The following Thursday, the 10th (we read in Foxe's "Acts and Monuments," vol. vi. p. 538, etc.), "the Duchess of Somerset was delivered from the Tower." The following Wednesday, the 16th, "Master Bradford, Master Beacon, and Master Veron were committed to the Tower." On the 29th, Mary appointed the Commissioners of Convocation. Married priests were then ordered to leave their wives or their benefices. According to Froude, "Bishop Scory had already been disposed of." September the 4th, Old's "singular friend," Dr Hugh Latimer, was arrested; and henceforth persecution and trouble must have stared him in the face. Among the list of the refugees in 1553 (Strype's "Memorials of Cranmer," vol. iii. p. 39) we find the names of—

Dr John Olde.
Dr Edwin Sands.
Dr Scory, Bishop of Chichester.

But inasmuch as Old was not deprived of his canonship at Lichfield before the following year, and the date of his successor's appointment to the vicarage of Cubbington is 19th November 1554, I am inclined to think he was not driven into exile quite so early as the others; while, from the fact of his retaining his incumbency after the promulgation of the orders of Convocation respecting married priests, it would appear he had no wife. The appointment of his successor appears in Dugdale's "Antiquities of Warwickshire:"

"D. Will Ludmans XIX., Nov. 1554 v.p.v."

According to Oldys, the antiquary, Old was imprisoned at Waterford with Dr Scory, but I rather fancy he made his escape to Ireland, and remained there free. He could

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scarcely have been a prisoner when, in 1555, he published his famous work, "The Acquital, or Purgation," which was a bold defence of the Reformed Catholic Faith, and a defiance of Queen Mary and the Papists.

This little volume has been said by some to be the first, by others the second, book printed in Ireland. Dr Cotton ("Typog. Gazetteer," ed. 1831, p. 21) doubts if printing was exercised at Waterford so early as 1555; but the colophon of the book in question is, I should imagine, conclusive testimony.

"'Truthe hathe the victorie.'—3 ESDRAS 4.

"'This is the victorie that overcomethe the worlde, even our faithe.'—1 Jo. 5.

"☞ Emprinted at Vaterford the 7 daye of November 1555."

It is not at all improbable that Old himself may have carried over to Ireland a printing-press and type, supplied by Edward Whitchurch. An 8vo edition is mentioned, but I have never met with any other than a small 16mo black-letter volume, plainly bound in calf. There are two copies in the library of the British Museum, one bearing the contemporary autograph of

Thomas Stanton,

formerly in the library of George Chalmers, Esq., whose book-plate is within the cover: the other, bearing the arms of Sykes, and within the inscription, in a modern hand—

"The first book printed in Ireland."

This copy has bound up with it an "Epistle to the Faithful," by John Scory, late Bishop of Chichester, 1555. This epistle incites Scory's fellow exiles and sufferers from Popish tyranny to bear up under their trials, and to endure to the end.

According to a writer in *Notes and Queries* (2d Series, vii. 48), the first book printed in Ireland was the "Boke of Common Prayer," imprinted by Humphrey Powell, 1531.

I will not indulge in any extended criticism on the literary abilities of Dr John Old, although the subject is a tempting

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one. This, his best-known production, exhibits most of his faults of style, as well as his merits. It was struck off probably in hot haste, and it glows with a stinging sense of the religious warfare then raging throughout England, and sounds like the agonised cry of one who sees his best and dearest hopes attacked and in extremity. When he rails against his adversaries as "lying wretches," "the locusts of Englande," "scolding, roaring, and railing the poison of Antichrist's traditions," and talks of "shaping those wicked wormes a reasonable answer,"—when he inveighs against that "infernall father, the abiured antichrist of Rome," we must make allowance for the circumstances and the manners of the age; we must remember his bosom friend, Latimer, only one month before the publication of this book, was burnt at the stake; that Old himself was, in his own words, "barred out of place and tyme as an abjecte out of my natural country." If his expressions are not always parliamentary, they are to the purpose. The book is not merely scholar-like, it is full of clear-sighted ability; and, in my opinion, it might be reprinted with advantage at the present day, so closely do many of the arguments fit the antagonistic sections of our Anglican Church—so earnestly and beautifully does he plead the cause of that true Gospel-Church which he trusts, in spite of all, is "surely planted in wooful Englande,"—so brave is the heart with which he faces the sea of troubles before him, insisting that as "Germany was tryed as golde in the fyre, euen so is Englande by martires' blood."

In 1556 was published "A Confession of ye most Auntient and True Christian Catholicke Olde Belefe, according to ye order of ye 12 articles of our Common Crede," by J. O., Sothewarke, 8vo, 1556. Although this volume was printed in England, there is no evidence of Old's return. It has a preface addressed to "my most lovynge frends and brethren," in which he alludes to his former labours in the Gospel at Lichfield and Coventry. According to Tanner, this book was said to have been printed by royal license, although it contained much contrary to the Romish faith, then flourishing in England.

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"Hic liber dictum impressus esse cum privilegio regali attamen multa continet fidæi Romanæ tunc temporis in Angliâ florente contraria."—*Bibliotheca Britannico Hibernica.*

Old now appears to have devoted himself to the publication of polemical works. In the same year, 1556, appeared "Conferences between Nicholas Ridley and Latymer, with a pious preface and conclusion by J. O.," 24mo, commencing, "Grace and peace to the good Christian reader;" and another work, "Rod Gualteri Homelias de Antichristo," lib. i., Southwarke, MDLVI, 8vo, which translation is mentioned by Cranmer in his "Confutatio Veritatum." Old is also said to have been the author of Stephen Gardner's book on "True and False Obedience," but this is contradicted by Tanner:—

"Non scripsit Gardeneri de vera Obedientia, lib. i."
Bibliotheca Britannico Hibernica.

According to Bishop Tanner, who quotes Bale, Old fled into Germany early in Queen Mary's reign, and was living in exile in 1557. Had he survived the accession of Elizabeth, we may presume he would certainly have returned at once to England, and would have been reinstated at Cubbington. His companion in exile, Bishop Scory, came back immediately upon the demise of Mary, and was one of the clergy, together with Leonard Coxe, chosen to argue with the Roman Catholics at Queen Elizabeth's theological controversy, held at Westminster, March 31, 1559. Had Dr John Old then been living, he would, I fancy, unquestionably have occupied an important position in the Church for which he had done and suffered so much.

In a list of ancient wills at the Exeter Court of Probate is that of

"John Olde of St Clether, clerk, 1595."

I have sought to obtain a sight of this will, inasmuch as it is just possible it might be that of the Reformer. The early wills, however, have never been removed to Exeter, and are said to remain at some local office, and I have not yet succeeded in lighting upon it. I do not, however, imagine it to

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be the one I seek. The Devonshire and Shropshire branches of the family were closely connected; but one can see no reason for Dr John Old's settling in the west when his brother William Olde and his family were still in Sheriffhales. It is more probable that Old's remains lie buried at Marburg or Strasburg, where the refugees are said to have dwelt. But I have not been able to meet with any record of the death of Dr John Old, the Reformer.

Our English biographical dictionaries pass over the name of Old, but there are notices of him in several foreign ones. That from Zedler's "Universal Lexicon" (Leipsic, 1741), one of the finest dictionaries of its class, runs as follows:—

"Oldus Johann. Ein gelehrter Engelländer ans andern Halffte des 16 Jahrhunderts, hat 'Confessionem Antiquæ Fidœi' und anders mehr geschrieben, auch vieler andern schrifften in Englische ubersetzt, als,"—(followed by a list of his writings.)

It only remains to notice the blunder mentioned at the beginning of this paper—the statement from Lowndes' "Bibliographer's Manual," that "The Acquital, or Purgation," was the work of John Bale.

This error may perhaps be traced to a mistake in the already quoted Cole MS. (Add. MSS. 5877, British Museum), page 10 of the "Alphabetical Collection for an Athenæ Cantab."

"Olde, John, qu., if not a feigned name for Bale?"

And it arose, probably, from Bale being the fountain-head from which most of the information concerning John Old was derived.

Oldys, the antiquary, in his memoirs of the Oldys family (No. 4240, Birch MSS., British Museum), commits another similar blunder in trying to graft the Reformer into his father's pedigree.

"Though I have observed before that our name has often been corruptly called and written Olds and Olde, yet I am not certain, whatever may have been suggested, that we should therefore incorporate that John Olde, or Oldus, as Bishop Bale calls him, of the

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family, who, as I compute, was born about the latter end of King Henry VII., and by his learned writings appears to have been an eminent champion for the Reformation in the days of King Edward VI., as also by his exile a confessor for the same in the reign of Queen Mary; though the unsettled orthography of those days might countenance such a syncope. Not but there are instances of greater liberties than this taken by learned men with their names. 'Tis certain there was one John Olds or Oldis of our family buried at Eatminster aforesaid in the 4th of Queen Elizabeth, but I cannot say it was the same person with that confessor."

It is astonishing that able antiquaries should have suggested such blunders; and I may here, perhaps, as a member of the Old family, as well as of the Royal Historical Society, be allowed the honour of correcting both MSS.

Of the identity of Dr John Old, there can be no longer any question; and with respect to the families of Old and Oldys, I may state, in conclusion, the names are quite distinct, my own patronymic being by far the more ancient of the two. I have never met with the name of Oldys prior to the sixteenth century, and it is evident it is more likely to have been a corruption of Old, than that this name (which has remained unaltered from at least the thirteenth century) should have been a contraction of the other. Oldys, in fact, knew nothing of the family of Old. His suggestion that the Oldys family took their name from the manor of Old Sock, or, as he calls it, Oldisoke, in the county of Somerset, is utterly fallacious. I have been informed the manor of Old Sock anciently belonged to the Courtenays, and was not possessed by our family before the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century, whence it passed into the family of Goodford of Chilton Cantelo in 1739, on the marriage of Samuel Goodford, Esq., with Mary, only daughter of John Old, Esq. of Yeovil. (*Vide* Burke's "History of Commoners," &c.)

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HISTORY OF THE TRENT BRIDGES AT NOTTINGHAM.

By JOHN POTTER BRISCOE, Esq., F.R.H.S.

THE history of the Trent bridges at Nottingham is particularly interesting. Their *early* history is clouded in the mists of antiquity. The site of these bridges has for many hundred years been the crossing place of the Trent, between the south of England and the north. During the excavations for the foundations of the new bridges, to which we shall refer subsequently, traces of what we may infer to have been a landing-stage have been brought to light. These consist of some "cross-braced framing, formed of black oak beams trenailed, together with oak pins, the whole resting upon large unhewn blocks of stone."

The earliest intimation of the existence of a bridge is gleaned from the Saxon Chronicle,* where, under the year 924, it is recorded that "this year † before midsummer, went King Edward (the elder) with an army to Nottingham, and ordered the town ‡ to be repaired on the south side of the river, opposite the other,§ and the *bridge over the Trent* betwixt the two towns." Grafton ‖ informs us that Edward the Elder "made a bridge" over the Trent between the two towns already alluded to. The piers were composed of stone, and the platform was of wood.¶ This bridge was of the greatest utility, inasmuch as it united the northern and southern parts of the

* Trans. by Rev. J. Ingram, B.D., late Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford, 1823, 4to, p. 138.

† 921 according to Florentius.

‡ Probably West Bridgford.

§ Nottingham.

‖ Chronicle (1569), ed. 1899, i. 116.

¶ Orange's "History of Nottingham," p. 82.

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country. This was probably the first bridge erected over this celebrated river; it afterwards contributed to a considerable extent to the wealth and importance of Nottingham, which was a great thoroughfare between the two grand divisions of the island for the marching of armies and conveyance of merchandise to and from the north of England and Scotland.

In 1156 Henry II. rebuilt the strong stone wall with which Edward the Elder encircled the town, and we believe that he built the first arched bridge of stone. Supposing this to have been so, then this bridge was one of the earliest stone bridges erected in England, as the first stone bridge reared in the country was the Bow Bridge, which was built in 1118.*

We gather from a reliable source† that there was an hospital called St Mary's at the end of the Trent Bridge, which was founded by John de Plumtre, in 1232. Its clear annual rental in 1535 was £11, 2s. Edward the First, in a charter granted in the 29th year of his reign, directed that the abbot and canons of Kenilworth should be free from the maintenance of bridges, unless the town bridge of Nottingham was broken. In the 30th year of the reign of Edward the First, a license was granted to John le Paumer of Nottingham, and his wife Alice, to give £6, 13s. 4d.‡ in rents, for *two*§ chaplains in the chapel of St Mary, situated on the Trent Bridge, then known as Hethebechebrigge.‖ This grant was for the celebration of "divine offices for their souls," etc.¶ It was customary to annex chapels to the principal bridges of the country. These extended *across* the bridge, the roads passing through their centre. The reading-desk and pulpit occupied one side, and the congregation the other.**

Whilst the bridge was under repair in July 1826, a number of pieces of sculptured stone were found under the sixth arch from Nottingham, some of which were beautifully wrought

* Strutt's "Horda-Angel Cynnan," 1774-5-6, ii. 46.
† Valor. Eccle., v. 157.
‡ Thoroton gives £6, 13s. 5d.
§ Thoroton says one chaplain.
‖ Inq. post mort., i. 177.
¶ Thoroton's "Antiquities of Nottinghamshire," 1699, p. 492, c. 2.
** Nash's "Collections for the History of Worcestershire," i. 329.

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mullions of windows. Doubtless these remains belonged to this ancient chapel of St Mary.* The right of the passage over the Trent was valued at £10 per annum, which was probably in the form of toll.†

In 1364, the structure being in a very dilapidated state, it was ordered that an inquisition "be made to ascertain who ought to repair the bridge of Hethbethbrigg, near Nottingham; and until it was ascertained, and the bridge repaired, Stephen Rombylowe, Constable of the Tower, was ordered to find a passage by a barge or boat, and for every man passing over he should take ¼d., for every horse, ½d., a loaded cart, 1d., unloaded, ½d.; and for everything passing by the barge of the value of forty shillings, 1d., twenty shillings, ½d., ten shillings, ¼d.; and from the profits the barge was to be constructed, and the wages of those employed in it paid, and what was over reserved for the king."‡

Parliament was petitioned in 1374 by the commonalty of the counties of Nottingham, Derby, Lincoln, and the town of Nottingham, that the county and town of Nottingham might appoint two guardians, who could purchase lands for the maintenance of the Trent Bridge, then called Heybeth Bridge.§ It would appear that this petition being acceded to, the oft-mooted point of bridge-masters would be settled. That the three counties contributed largely to the funds whereby the lands and hereditaments were to be purchased, there can be no doubt; thenceforward the expense of maintaining the bridge was devolved upon the town of Nottingham. In a judgment of the court concerning the repair of the Leen Bridge, about 1457, the Trent Bridge is alluded to as the *Heyghbeythbrugge.*‖

From time to time various bequests were made for the repair of the Trent bridges. A house and portion of land

* Sutton's "Date Book of Nottingham," 401.
† Bailey's "Annals of Nottinghamshire," i. 206.
‡ Ab. Rot. Orig., ii. 273.
§ Bailey's "Annals of Nottinghamshire," i. 261.
‖ Deering's "Nottinghamia vetus et Nova," 1751, p. 337, 338.

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were given in trust by Robert Poole and others on the 22d May 1501.* Thomas Willoughby, one of the aldermen of Nottingham, willed to "Hethbeth" four of his best pieces of timber lying at the tile houses.† It is recorded that a chapel, dedicated to St James, stood upon the *High Bridge*, and that it possessed lands, in 1535, of the value of £2, 6s. 2d. per annum.‡

The first lease granted by the Bridge Estate was on the 8th September 1541.§ Richard Kyte, fellmonger, was the lessee, and the property so leased consisted of two parcels of land, called "Norman's parts," and another piece between Chainy Pools, north and south. Elizabeth Gellestrope, by her will dated 12th April 1543, gave an almshouse containing five dwellings, which were to be inhabited by poor burgesses, placed there as vacancies occurred by the bridge-masters, and thence known as the "Bridge-Masters' Hospital." In 1544, land and gardens were bequeathed for the repair of the Trent Bridge by Jacob Mason and John Gregory.

In 1550 the Convent of the Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem was, by the king's letters-patent, granted to the corporation of Nottingham, for amending, sustaining, and repairing of the Trent Bridge at Nottingham. This convent stood on the site of the present House of Correction.‖ A committee of seven persons was appointed by "The Hall," in 1609, to sell wood in the Coppice, to obtain money for the repair of the Bridge.¶

Bailey** states that, during the year 1614, "it was ordered that the bridge-masters do take up £20 for six months, upon their own bond; and to be allowed it again upon their accounts being passed, as the *bridges are in so great decay*, and must be repaired this summer." This order appears to have been founded on the following presentment made by the Mickleton jury:—"We entreat your worships that the Trent Bridge may be carefully seen into, and especially the chapel

* Orange's "History of Nottingham," p. 644.
† Deering, p. 315.
‡ Inq. ad quod Dam., 127.
§ Bailey, i. 412.
‖ *Ibid.* i. 432, 433.
¶ Bailey, 572.
** *Ibid.* p. 589.

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arch, and mended presently, or else it will go to great decay, for now is the time."* One of the middle arches of the Trent Bridge fell on the 10th August 1636. The rebuilding of it cost upwards of £100.†

The Trent Bridge figures conspicuously during the time of the civil dissensions. Mrs Hutchinson‡ places it on record, that in 1643 the cavaliers made a fort at the Trent bridges, and thither they carried down all their plunder and prisoners.§ She states that the Royalists "broke up two arches of the bridges, to hinder the governor's men from following them," and that Mr George Hutchinson was appointed to keep the fort and bridges, which he did. Colonel Hutchinson, governor of Nottingham Castle, made a new inwark in the fort and bridges.‖

On Sunday, the 14th of February 1644, Cornet Palmer acquainted the governor of an intention of Hacker's soldiers to surprise the bridge on the following Saturday. On receiving this intelligence, the governor sent his officers to command the bridge soldiers to keep in their quarters. He also directed that all the horse in the town should be kept ready to turn out on the first sound of the trumpet, and gave orders for all the drums in the garrison to beat occasionally in the morning. The lieutenant-colonel despatched a guard beyond the bridges, with strict injunctions to examine all passengers. On the following Saturday, 17th February 1644, at eleven o'clock, they took twelve of Hacker's soldiers on the bridge. They were disguised as market men and women, and were armed with pistols, long knives, hatchets, and daggers. The enemy, perceiving their comrades were taken, retired. Only nine were overtaken; these, with their captain, leapt into the Trent; four were saved, five drowned, and the captain swam ashore.¶

After this occurrence, the bridges were fortified more strongly, and as the enemy was expected every hour, operations had to be proceeded with on the Sabbath.**

* Bailey, 633.
† Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, 1806, p. 154.
‡ Hutchinson, 164.
§ *Ibid.* 165.
‖ *Ibid.* 190.
¶ *Ibid.* 189.
** *Ibid.* 197.

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During the absence of Colonel Hutchinson, who was engaged in keeping the castle, the cavaliers surprised the lieutenant-colonel's fort His soldiers, in his absence, lying out of their quarters, had not left more than thirty men upon guard. Most of them were killed. The ensign displayed great bravery, fighting very stoutly till he fell slain.* At this surprise, about twenty persons were killed. Their bodies were given up, and brought to Nottingham in carts, where they were interred.† On the 5th of May 1645, some Leicester and Nottingham forces marched to regain the bridges. The Royalists fled at night, carrying with them what they could.‡

In order to prevent the enemy from obtaining access to Nottingham by the bridges, Colonel Hutchinson caused a small fort to be erected wherein he placed a lieutenant and thirty men, thereby enclosing those in the fort the enemy had surprised.§ He resolved to assault the enemy from the Nottingham side of the river, after having provided that their friends should not come from the other side to help them. But those of Newark, understanding this, came in as strong force as they could muster, and assaulted the fort, when the lieutenant in charge (Lieutenant Hall), failing in that courage which he professed when he solicited the honour of keeping it, made a surrender. On perceiving this, the governor was exceedingly vexed, and immediately marched up to the bridge to assault the new occupants of the fort. He discovered that the fort had only been stormed to permit of their own escape. They made shift to get at their friends upon the ribs of two broken arches, which, when they had served to help their passage, they pulled up, to hinder a pursuit. Thus, after a month's space, the fort was restored to the governor. He re-fortified the town, and repaired the bridges. The war being ended, the garrison was reduced, and the works at the bridges were slighted.‖

We glean from Sir Richard Kaye's MSS.,¶ written about

* Hutchinson, 247.
† *Ibid.* 248.
‡ Throsby's "Thoroton," ii. 57.
§ Hutchinson, 281.
‖ Hutchison, 276.
¶ In Bromley House Library, Nottingham.

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the middle of the seventeenth century, that the arches were covered with timber.

In 1683, in consequence of great floods, a considerable portion of the Trent Bridge was torn away. The bridge was of wood, supported on stone pillars. Since that time, Deering writes that it was entirely rebuilt of stone, supported by twenty arches, at the expense of the corporation, who took charge of the repairs. The same authority states, that in addition to several grants from the Crown, besides gifts and legacies, the bridge's sustentation was by "toll of millstones, and upsets of mercers, tailors, cordwainers, &c." "From the foot of this bridge," Deering goes on to say, "there was a strong causeway, well secured with brickwork, and covered with flat stones, leading to the higher parts of the meadows, and from thence to the lower parts, where planks were raised from a foot to two feet, by which people might go dry-shod during flood-time to and from Heathbeth Bridge. These were repaired by the bridge-masters." *

A committee was appointed by the corporation of Nottingham (12th March 1682-3) to make contracts for rebuilding the bridges, which had been destroyed or damaged during the late wars, and materially injured by recent floods. At the same time, another committee was appointed to cut down and sell wood out of the Coppice to bear the expense of the undertaking. The "Hall Book" for the following year shows that though the work had been commenced, it had not progressed very favourably, owing to the negligence or indolence of the workmen; for it was ordered (2d April) that "a person should be appointed, at a salary of *eight shillings* a week, to keep account of all labourers employed about building the Trent bridges." The river was diverted from its course during these operations.†

Thoroton,‡ writing shortly after this time, alludes to this structure as the "costly Trent bridges, called Heathbet Bridges." Sir Thomas Parkyns, Bart., having undertaken the superintendence of the work of restoration, the bridge being

* Deering, 164. † Bailey, 1009. ‡ Antiquities of Nottinghamshire, 1699, p. 492.

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much out of repair, "The Hall" voted him the sum of *ten pounds* as a testimonial of the services they considered he had rendered to the town by so doing.*

A toll-house was set up about 1724 by the King and Parliament for the repairs of the bridge.† Leland‡ alludes to this "great bridge," with "arches of stone." Toll was exacted for several years after the erection of the toll-house, as we gather from "Hutton's Life,"§ &c., that "John Taylor, the *toll*-man knew him (Samuel Hutton) about 1746."

The east side of the Trent Bridge, with the wharf and houses, belonged to the Chamberlains about 1740-49, and the west side to the bridge-masters.‖

The great floods of February 1795 do not appear to have caused much damage to the Trent bridges. The bridge being so narrow at the southern end that two carriages could scarcely pass, the corporation, in 1806, ordered the eastern parapet to be rebuilt, and the arches to be lengthened, which rendered it tolerably commodious.¶ In 1810, a range of buildings which stood at the eastern side of the northern end was taken down, and that end of the bridge was widened, as well as the bridge over what is known as the Old Trent. The Watch-House was at the same time taken down.** The bridge, according to Blackner, consisted of seventeen arches.

Advantage was taken of the protracted drought of 1826 to examine and reconsolidate the bridge. One of the piers on the eastern side was entirely rebuilt, and the others were repaired,†† and the bridge so altered that the water should run through six arches instead of three.‡‡ Again were the remains of the ancient chapel on the bridge seen. They consisted, as we have stated, of beautifully-wrought mullions of windows, resembling those in the Church of St Mary.§§ Fragments of the old chapel were brought to light in 1831,

* Bailey, 1146. † Parkyns' "Queries and Reasons," &c., 3d ed., 1724, p. 9.
‡ P. 113. § Edited by Ll. Jewitt, p. 36.
‖ Deering MSS. in Bromley House Library, p. 11.
¶ Blackner's "History of Nottingham," 1815, p. 19. ** *Ibid.* 19.
†† Sutton, 401. ‡‡ White's "Notts," 190. §§ Sutton, 401.

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with part of a padlock and chain, together with several fragments of stone windows.*

The right of the corporation of Nottingham to exact toll at the Trent Bridge, was tried in 1840 before Chief-Justice Tindall and a special jury. The action was brought to recover a fourpence toll from a common carrier. On the part of the plaintiff, various ancient charters were put in, and parole evidence given of the payment of toll for upwards of forty years, and as to the bridge being kept in repair by the corporation. The jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff.†

Her Majesty the Queen passed over the Old Trent Bridge on her way from Chatsworth to Belvoir in 1843. To commemorate this event, the royal arms have been carved on one of the abutments.

On a perusal of the "Bridge ledger," it will be seen that scarcely a year has passed during the last twenty in which considerable sums have not been expended in repairing the structure. By an examination of the corporation accounts, we learn that in 1850 the abutments of the bridge were repaired with one hundred piles shod with iron. About the year 1851, it was discovered that one of the dry arches near the south bank had sunk, which caused the Town Council to adopt measures for securing it.‡

In 1853, Sir William Cubbitt, C.E., prepared plans for a new bridge. It was intended that the proposed bridge should not interfere with the decayed fabric, which should be permitted to stand until its successor should be completed. Presuming that solid rock was to be found, Sir William was of opinion that a complete bridge and approaches could be built for less than £30,000.§

During the year 1854, the piers were repaired with stone. In the following year, the sum of £200 was required for bricklaying. During the same year, a further sum of £400 was expended on the bridge. In 1856, the abutments of the bridge being in a weak condition, 98½ tons of stone were

* Orange, 88, 89. † Bailey, 417. ‡ Wylie's "Nottingham Hand-Book," 57.
§ Wylie's "Old and New Nottingham," 277.

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required to strengthen them. During the succeeding year, the abutments again received attention. It was determined to sink 142 tons of Derbyshire stones to preserve them from the action of the river. Convinced that some measures were necessary to sustain the old bridge beyond the ordinary repairs which were ever being made, the bridge committee caused a sunk weir to be constructed, in 1859, across the river, a little below the old bridge, on the site of the present new bridge, in order to hold up the water, and prevent the scour that was seriously endangering the foundations of the large piers. This weir was formed by filling several large old barges with Mountsorrel granite, and sinking them into the bed of the river, and then covering the whole with layers of granite, so as to form a continuously compact mass.*

In 1867, the Town Council decided to erect a new bridge, and in November of the same year, instructed their energetic engineer, Mr M. O. Tarbotton, C.E., F.G.S., to prepare plans and obtain estimates. In the following April, plans were submitted. The structure was estimated to cost £31,000. The memorial-stone was laid by the Mayor, John Barber, Esq., on the 15th July 1869, and the bridge was opened for traffic on the 25th July 1871. In commemoration of the event, a medal was struck.

In the following October, the old structure gave way to a most beautiful and graceful piece of pontine architecture.

* Tarbotton's "Short History of the Old Trent Bridge," 1871, pp. 8, 9.

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AN ESTIMATE OF THE SCOTTISH NOBILITY DURING THE MINORITY OF JAMES VI. AND SUBSEQUENTLY, WITH PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

By the REV. CHARLES ROGERS, LL.D., F.S.A. Scot.,
Historiographer to the Royal Historical Society.

DURING the spring of 1872, while engaged in the Public Record Office in some important researches, I chanced to discover a small quarto MS. volume, bearing the following inscription :—" Index of ye Nobility of Scotland in ye Time of James ye First." The volume was in the handwriting of Sir Joseph Williamson, and, though undated, clearly belonged to the period between 1666 and 1701, when the transcriber held office as Keeper of the State Papers. Along with a written narrative concerning the nobility and their several families were descriptions of their armorial escutcheons, partly in French, and other entries of an extraneous and unimportant character.

From internal evidence, hereafter to be noticed, it became evident that Sir Joseph Williamson had transcribed the " Estimate of the Nobility" from another copy which was likely to be found in the public archives. On a careful search in the British Museum, three copies of the " Estimate" were discovered, each varying in orthography, but otherwise substantially alike. Of these, one is included among the Lansdowne MSS. (No. 877), the two others are embraced in the volumes 1423 and 6101 of the Harleian MSS. A fifth copy is deposited in the Lyon Office, Edinburgh.

These several MSS. may be described. The Lansdowne MS., a thin folio, contains masterly tracings of the arms of Scottish peers, including coloured shields of opulent and

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influential Scotsmen. On the title-page, it bears, in an ornamental border, the name "Joseph Holand," with the date "1585." According to the Rev. Mr Noble, in his "History of the College of Arms,"* Joseph Holland was a native of Devonshire, and was an accomplished herald, genealogist, and antiquary; he was living in 1617. He executed a parchment roll of the nobility and gentry of Devonshire in 1585, which was suspended in the College of Arms; a folio MS. on the same subject being preserved elsewhere. In his "Collection of Curious Discourses,"† Mr Hearne presents several papers by Joseph Holland. These abound in vague antiquarian speculations, and bear dates between 1598 and 1601. Other compositions of Holland are to be found in the Cottonian Collection.

Of the two MSS. in the Harleian Collection, that numbered 6101 bears on the title-page the name and arms of Robert Jermyn, herald painter, with the date 1585. It includes the emblazoned shields of the kings and principal nobility of Scotland. The MS. No. 1423 has on the first page the signature, "Jo. Withie,"‡ with the date 1606. At page 129 are these words:—"The Scottish Nobilitie in an. dom. 1577, per Alexander Hay, the xxviiith of December 1577." Then follows a description of the nobility, in terms almost precisely identical with those of the other MSS. Thus we discover the name of the original compiler, with the date of production. That date, 1577, is verified in the other copies, each of which contains the following entry:—"James, Erle Morton, *now Regent* of this land of Scotland, a prudent and politique defender of James y^{e} 6th, and a politique preserver of his country." The Earl of Morton was Regent of Scotland from 1572 to 1581.

* "History of the College of Arms," by the Rev. Mark Noble, Lond. 1804, p. 252.

† "Collection of Curious Discourses," by Thomas Hearne, A.M., Oxford, 1720, 8vo.

‡ John Withie was a herald painter in the city of London. His son, "John Withy," followed the same occupation. In the will of this person, registered in Doctors' Commons, and dated 14th August 1677, he mentions his sons Vere and Fauconberge. He was a member of Bridewell Hospital.

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The fifth MS. is contained in a small volume belonging to the library of the Lyon Office, Edinburgh. In this volume the accounts of the peers and their families are the same as in the MSS. described; but these are inserted in what had originally been an illuminated book of arms of a somewhat earlier date. This MS. was lately presented to the Lyon Office by Captain Macdonald of Sandside; to that office it probably belonged at a former period.

Alexander Hay, the author or compiler of the "Estimate," was son of Hay of Park, one of the oldest branches of the noble House of Errol. In March 1564 he was nominated by Secretary Maitland, Clerk of the Privy Council; he received from Queen Mary, on the 1st April following, a warrant on the Treasury for payment of £150 Scots as his salary.* As one of the Queen's accusers he accompanied Maitland and the Earl of Murray to York in 1568.† He became director of the Chancery in 1572; and while holding this office, prepared his "Estimate." It was doubtless drawn up at the instance and for the information of Lord Burleigh, the astute minister of Queen Elizabeth. Respecting reports on the condition of the Scottish nobility subsequently prepared for the English court, Sir Walter Scott writes:‡—"The English princes, since the reign of Henry VIII., had made the important discovery that they could more easily avoid the dangers to be apprehended from Scotland by supporting and encouraging a party within the kingdom itself than by force of arms."

Hay has presented in a succinct form an account of the comparative opulence, and of the connections, inclinations, and dispositions of Scottish nobles. His production is that of a politician rather than of a genealogist. The Earl of Argyle is described as "regal within himself," and as having of his surname and kindred many persons of opulence, whose names are enumerated. The Earls of Angus are set forth as men of great power, and as possessing important kindred. Certain noblemen are described as of religious

* Bishop Keith's Appendix, 174. † Melvill's Memoirs, 205. ‡ See *postea*.

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tendencies. The Earl of Eglinton, and the Lords Macleod, Glenesk, and Livingston are commended for "good stomach," or valour. The Lords Oliphant are set down as "no orators in their words, nor fools in their deeds." The revenues possessed by the several Houses are circumstantially related.

Under favour of the ruling minister of Queen Elizabeth, who exercised no ordinary influence among the Protestant portion of the Scottish nobility, Alexander Hay obtained important preferments. He was appointed Clerk-Register in October 1579; at the same time he was nominated an ordinary Lord of Session,* when he assumed the judicial title of Lord Easter-Kennet. Soon afterwards he was nominated a Commissioner anent the Jurisdiction of the Kirk.† In 1581 he was named a Commissioner for the Visitation of Hospitals, and also an arbiter in the feud subsisting between the families of Gordon and Forbes. In November of the same year, after the Raid of Ruthven, he conveyed to the Earl of Lennox the royal command that he should depart from the kingdom.‡ When James left Scotland for Norway, in October 1589, to bring home his queen, Hay was nominated Secretary for the Scottish language during the royal absence.§ In 1592 he was for his services to the kingdom voted the thanks of Parliament. ‖ He died on the 19th September 1594, "shortlie after the baptism of the Prince (Henry), by excessive paines and travellis tane be him at y^e^ time, immediately before and at the tyme of the baptisme." ¶ His remains were consigned to the churchyard of Holyrood Abbey.

It is worthy of remark that Sir Alexander Hay of Newton and Whitburgh, younger son of Lord Easter-Kennet, and successively a Clerk of Session, a Lord Ordinary and Clerk-Register, granted to the Magistrates and Town-Council of Aberdeen certain annuities for repairing the Bridge of Don. His charter granting these annuities is dated 1st February 1605, and bears that the bridge was the noble work of the renowned and illustrious King Robert Bruce. The annual

* Books of Sederunt. † Acts of Scot. Parl., iii. 138. ‡ Moyse, 71, 72.
§ Spotiswoode, 379. ‖ Acts of Scot. Parl., iii. 626. ¶ Books of Sederunt.

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grant, amounting only to £2, 5s. 8½d. of sterling money, has latterly been productive of a fund of £12,000.*

Along with Hay's "Estimate" are presented two others, prepared at subsequent dates, and which, though formerly printed, have not been made generally accessible. Taken together, these documents cast no inconsiderable light on the condition of Scottish affairs at an important epoch.

THE SCOTTISH NOBILITIE IN AN. DOM. 1577.

By ALEXANDER HAY, the xxviiith of December 1577.

THE ERLE OF ARRAN.

The Erle of Arrane, Lord of Hamilton, Sherif of Lanerik, by inheritance called Hamilton, descended from a gentleman called Hamilton, who, for slaughter of John Spenser, familiar to Edward the Second, fledd into Scotland, tenderly reĉeaved of K. Robert Brus, and got the landes of Caidzowe in Clidesdale, now in good nomber of people called Hamiltones. And they be in the Kinges bloode. His chief houses be the castels of Hamilton and Draffen in Clydisdale, Kync and Aberterne in Brotheame, and the Castell of Arrane in that isle. The surname wasted by adhearing to the late Q. Mary. These have matched with the Erles of Argyle, Leuinox, Huntley, and Lord Hume. In controversy now with the house of Leuinox.

THE ERLE OF HUNTLEY.

The Erle of Huntley and Lord Gordon, and of the same surname. His first originall was from S^{r} John Gordon, Knight, which Lordschip lyeth besydes Hume in the Merch. His principall landes and roomes now lyeth in the north of Scotland. His chief house, called Strabogin, is within the Sherifdome of Abirdene. Of the same surname is descended the Erle of Sutherland and many other gentlemen. An Erle of greate power, and of most revenue of any Erle in that lande. In maner, thought the good man of the northe. He is descended of the house of Drummond on the mother's syde, the last Erle borne of the daughter of Keyth Erle Mareschall, and maryed the daughter of Arrane, late Duk of Chastelherault.

* Kennedy's "Annals of Aberdeen," Lond. 1818, 2 vols. 4to. Vol. i. p. 420.

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THE ERLE OF ARGYLE.

The Erle of Argyle, Lord Campbell and Lorne, Justice Generall of Scotland, and Master of Houshold to the Kinge, all by inheritance. Is called by the Frenche speeche Campbell—fayre feld. His contrey, seperated in maner from the mayne land, full of mountaynes and fresche water loghes, amongest which Leightfine, of greate boundes, and speaketh Irishe for their naturall tongue. He is regall within himself, and hath his justice clerke, of greate power and revenue, as the Lordes of Awchinbrek, Ardkinglas, Sherif of Ayre, Glenvrquhart, Corswell, and of late the Knightes of Cawlder and Lundie. They have matched for the most part with the houses of Leuinox, Eglington, Menteith, and Ersking, with Makclane and others of the Isles. His chief houses Enrare,* Dynone,† Castell Carrik, and Castell Campbell beyond Forth.

THE ERLE MARESCHALL.

The Erle Mareschall, called Keith, descended from a yonge man of that surname that slew Chunus Prince of Norway, capitaine of the Danes, and gotte lands in Loutheane‡ of Kinge Malcolm the second called Keith, for the continuance of their valiaunt deides to that crowne; they are now Erles Mareschall of Scotland by inheritance. Their chief residency and landes beinge in the north of Scotland. His principall house called Dynnolter,§ of great revenue; fewe freendes of his surname, because the inheritance of Enrugy‖ beinge greate and of the same surname by mariage, was converted to his house. He is in alliaunce and freendship with the Erle of Huntley and the Creichons.¶ This man now Erle is very religious and of greate substance.

THE ERLE OF ANGUSH.

The Erle of Angush, descended from S[r] James Douglas, called the [good] Knight, who went with the hart of that Kinge in to the holy Lande, and for that these gyve the bloody hart in their armes. He is the first Erle of Scotland, and caryeth the crowne afore the Kinge in Parlement. These be men of greate power and kynred and freendship, very noble, and of greate stomak and courage. The principall houses of this Erle be the castels of Douglas and Borthuile in Clydesdale, and Tantallon in Louthyanshire, a house

* Inverary. † Dunoon. ‡ Lothian.
§ Dunnottar. ‖ Innerugie. ¶ Crichtons.

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of goode strength. They have matched with the houses of Huntley, Drummond, Glammes, Yester, Flemynge, and many others of that land, and lately with Leuinox.

THE ERLE OF LEUINOX.

The Erle of Leuinox and Lord Dernelin,* called Stewart, Sherif of Dunberton, by inheritance descended with the Stewardes Kinges of Scotland, taking now their clayme of the second persounage of that land from the sister of James the third, Lady Hamilton, as most lawfull by descent. The late Erle thereof called Mathew beinge Regent, and his nephew now reigninge called James the sext. The Erldome was of great revenue in rent and superioritie, hurt by his father John Erle of Leuinox in service, and now descended to a daughter called the Lady Arabella, borne in England. His chief houses be Crukiston and Inshenane in the Sherifdome of Renfrewe, Inche Myringe † in Loight Lomonde, the keiping of Dunbartane castell and rule of the Isle of Bute. Stewart of the regalitie of Glasgo. An Erle of greate power, and of that house haue ben vice Royes of Naples and Calabria, Mareschals of France, and capitayne of the gard and company. And yet a greate Baron called Lord Obenze,‡ gyving the Frenche armes quarterly.

THE ERLE OF CASSELS.

The Erle of Cassels, called Kenethy,§ lyenge with his freendes of the same surname vpon the west seas in the contrey of Carrik, a Stewartrye and parcell of the Sherifdome of Are. There is of the same name in that contrey and descended of his house sondry lordes and gentlemen, wherof two principalles, the Lordes of Barganye and Blairquhan of litle lyvinge then the Erle himself. His chief houses be Cassells and Dymmire,‖ 4 myles from the bridge of Doone. The people ar mingled with the speeches of Irishe and Englishe, not far distant from Cragfergus in Ireland. This last Erle was sist to the Lord Barganye aforesaid.

THE ERLE OF GLANCARNE.

The Erle of Glancarne, lord of Kilmaurse, called Cuninghame, came first foorth of England from killinge of Thomas Becket of Canterbury: men of fayre landes and of greate power of their owne surname, from

* Darnley. † Inchmurrin. ‡ Aubigny. § Kennedy. ‖ Dunure.

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which Erle ar descended the Lordes of Glengarnok, Caprington, Robert Lande, Cunynghame heade, Halkheade, Craganes, Ladylande, Montgrene, and Druquhassill (Drumquhassell), capitaine of Dumbertane, men of great livinges. He is well and faithfully searved by them; they lyve for the most part in Cuninghame nigh to Eglington. They be alwayes in freendship and amitie partakers with the Erles of Leuinox; they ar of the mothersyd descended from the house of Angush. The chief houses of this Erle ar Kilmaurse in Cuningham, Fynleston * vpon the syde of Clide, the castell of Kilmaranok, in the Leuenax, and Glencarne in Nithisdale.

THE ERLE BOTHWELL.

The Erle Bothwell, Lord Creithon † and Hales, Sherif of Berwik, called the Mers, of Hadington and Edenbourgh, within Lowtheame,‡ greate Admirall of Scotland by inheritance, and called Hepburn. His originall foorth of England, and advaunced by the service of the Erle of Marche in Scotland. He was of goode power and greate revenue, hurt by the father of the last Erle, havinge sondry gentlemen of his surname of fayre lyvinges, especially the knight of Wawghton and Rycarton, and the house of the best Maister of Hales. This last James Erle Bothwell for his disordered lyf and haynous murther of his prince the Kinge, was attaynted and exiled in Denmarke, wher he miserably dyed. His houses were the castells of Hales and Crighton in Lowtheame.

THE ERLE OF ATHELL.

Walter Stewart, Erle of Athell, sonne to Kinge Robert the Second, gotten on his first wyf Eufame, who ever by reason he was the eldest pretended right to the crowne, conspyred the slaughter of James the First, and so slayne and attaynted since that time, of new erected and created of the same surname. An highland and straight contrey, speaking for the most part Irishe, ioyneth with the contrey of Meirnes vpon the syde of Angush, of a prety power. They haue ioyned theim selfes in mariage with the houses of Leuinox, Montros, and with Enlibarden (Tullibarn), havinge sondrey gentlemen of his surname. No greate kyndnes betwixt the Erles of Huntley and him, but sometimes in controversy, and able to countirvaile him with his alliaunces and freendes.

* Finlayston. † Crichton. ‡ Lothian.

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THE ERLE OF MONTROS.

The Erle of Montros, Lord Grahame, and of the same surname. His chiefest house of habitacion called Kintarne,* standinge in the Stewartry of Stratherne, within the Sherifdome of Perth, vnder the mountaynes betwixt Sterlinge and St Johnstowne.† He hath an other castell standinge in the Leuinox with sondrey landes perteyninge therto called the Castell and Barony of Mowkdok.‡ He is an Erle of small power, havinge but few gentlemen of his surname except the Larde of Fyntra,§ situate in the Leuenax and dwellinge in the north. His revenues ar not greate, yet being a man civil and gyven to quyet, he hath matched with the houses of E.‖

THE ERLE OF EGLINGTON.

The Erle of Eglington, Lord Montgomerye, and of the same surname. His chief house called Eglington 4 miles from the towne of Irreweing, within the Stewartry of Cuninghame, parcell of the Sherifdome of Are. He hath an other castell called Ardrossen standinge vpoun the west seas for anenst the Isle of Bute, and another pyle in the Isle of Cumerayne.¶ Ther is of his surname of Montgomeries the heires of Montgomery knight Hesilhead and the Lord of Gyffane, of which house the Count Montgomery in Fraunce is descended. They be of stomak stowte and hardy enemyes sometyme to the house of Glencarne and Boyde. They have matched with the houses of Argyle, Leuinox, Ardkinglas, Cudder and others: his power of him self not greate.

LORD GLENESK.

James Lindsaye, Lord Genesk [Glenesk], was made Erle of Crawforde by Kinge Robert, the second of the Stewartes, and continueth with that surname. His landes and lyvinge was so great that he had in heritage 21 baronyes, the most part in Angush, and of late decayed by a portugall [prodigal] Erle who succeeded before this last Erle first beinge Lord of Egill,** a man of good lyvinge and of the same surname of Lindsayes. Their power in their first creation was greate, and now diminished by hurte of the Erldome as is sayd. Their boundes for the chief part about Brechin, Grenest, and in Angush.

* Kincardine. † Perth. ‡ Mugdock.
§ Fintry. ‖ Erskine. ¶ Cumbray.
** Edzell.

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THE ERLE OF SUTHERLANDE.

The Erle of Sutherlande, called Gordon, and descended of the house of Huntley and Straybogin; that contrey marcheth with Cathnes in the farre northe, profitable bothe for store and corne; on the yonde syde therof lyeth Murraye. This Erle is of goode power within this contrey appended as it wer to Huntley, men of goode courage and noble. They have matched with the houses of Leuinox, Athell, Arrell, and sondrey other Barones in that coontrey of Scotland.

THE ERLE OF MORTON.

The Erle of Morton, Lord of Dalkeith, called Douglas, descended from the goode S^r^ James Douglas, knight, of whose surname haue ben fyve severall Erles, viz., th'erles of Douglas, Angush, Wigton, Murrayne, and Morton; ther be extant only Angush and Morton. They have ben men most noble and valiaunt in this lande, ever defendors of their contrey and Kinges, as of Kinge David Brus, of James the Second of the Stewartes, and now partly appereth by James Erle of Morton now Regent of this land of Scotland, a prudent and politique defendour of James the sext, and politique preserver of his countrey. These of Morton for their goode service done to former princes have their landes regall. Their chief houses be the castell of Mor in Nithiselle,* Dalkeyth in Lowtheame, and Abredour in Fyff. Of these two houses are descended.

THE ERLE OF ORKNEY.

The armes of the Erle of Orkney was possessed sometyme by the Sinclers, and afterward came agayne to the crowne. Lately it was gyven to that murtherer James Erle of Bothwell, who short tyme enioyed the same. And now that Dukedom, with his auncyent Erldome by atteynture, is agayne annexed to the crowne.

THE ERLE OF BOUGHAN.†

The Erldome of Boughan was gyven first by James the First, by commiseration, to George Erle of Marche, and 400 markes yerely pension forth of the Erldome of Marche after his attaynture. Afterward the same Erldome of Boughan was gyven to John Stewart, sonne to Robert Duke of Albanie, who was gouernour of Scotland.

* Nithsdale. † Buchan.

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The same John was a noble man, sent with an army in Fraunce, and for his valiauntnes was made Constable of that realme; slayne by the Duke of Bedford, Regent of England. His chief house, called Owghter House,* is in Angush, besyde Dundie, and now the Erldome descended to a daughter.

THE ERLE OF ARRELL.

The Erle of Arrel, called Haye, Constable of Scotland by inheritance, descended from a base contrey man of that surname, who (in a battell foughten by Kinge Keneth against the Danes), with his two sonnes and plough yokes in their handes, in a straight retourned the Scottes to battell, and valiauntly fought and overthrew the army of Danes; in reward he gott all the landes betwixt the ryver of Taye and Arrell, being six myles in length and fower in breadth, and of the best landes in Scotland, in the Kers† of Gowrye, where the wheate that maketh mane groweth. His house is called Arrell, 4 myles from Dedere;‡ his greatest roomes and habitation is in Boughan,§ in the north, a noble surname by long progression, and gyveth the yoke aboue his creast, and the red shield in a feeld of silver. They have ben cunterpanes in freendship and power to the Erles of Huntley. Slanes their chief house in Bouchan.

THE ERLE OF ROTHOS.

The Erle of Rothos, Lord Lesley, of the same surname. His chief houses called Banbreight, standinge vpon Lisley grene, not farre from Falklande in the Sherifdome of Fyff, and hath ben Sherif of the same, but now transfered to the Lord Lindsay, as I think. He descendeth of the house of Glenesk, and gyveth the buckles called bruches in gold vpon a barre of silver, as from that house. He hath many gentlemen of his surname of Lesleys, but altogether in maner lyenge in the north of Scotland, by which meanes he and they be alwayes ioyned in freendschip with the Erles of Huntley. This man's brother, called Normand, Lord Lesley, for the slaughter of the late Cardinall of St Andrewes, was banyshed in England, and afterward slayne in Fraunce, a valiaunt and worthie gentleman.

THE ERLE OF CATHENES.

The Erle of Cathenes, called Sinclere, the furthest contrey of the

* Auchterhouse. † Carse. ‡ Dundee. § Buchan.

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north in Scotland, nixt vnto Orkenye; a man of no greate lyvinge, and few landed men by that Erldome of his surname; of a goode power in his contrey, but not to bringe——

THE ERLE OF MURRAY.

The Erldome of Murrey hath been possessed by Erle Thomas Randoll,* sister sonne to the Brus, and by his sonne John Randoll, afterwards by the Dunbarres and Murreys; then by mariage enioyed with the Dowglasses, revertinge to the crowne, was gyven to James Stewart, base sonne to James the Fourth, slaine at Flowdone; and lastly, beinge againe at the crowne, James Stewart, base sonne to James the Fift, departed at Falklande, was created Erle of the same, beinge first Erle of Marre, whose right name herafter shall appeire. He was made Regent of Scotland, a man godly of wisdome, liberalitie, and stomake to goode for that lande, beinge so barbarously slayne by false conspirators, leavinge behynd him but a daughter to the Abbott of St Combesynch sonne, that by her hath the Erledom. The old Countesse beinge also maryed to the Erle of Argyle.

THE ERLE OF MENTEITH.

The Erle of Menteith, called Greham; his [progenitors] were Erles of Stratherne and Comitie Palatynes, now decayenge in lyvinge and of no greate power. Their chief dwellinge is within the Stewartrye of Menteith, a pretie contrey, parcell of the Sherifdome of Perth, called Saint Johnstowne.† His chief house and dwellinge called the Inche, lyenge within a freshe water loight called Inchemahrome,‡ two myles from the head of the water of Forth above Sterlinge. They have ben allyd with the Erles of Argyle, Erskings, and others.

THE LORD ERSKING.

The Lord Ersking, of the same surname, a baron of greate fidelitie to the crowne, Sherif of Sterlingeshire by inheritance, capitayne of the Castell of Sterlinge, and comonly kepers of their princes in their minoritie; he hath very few landed men of their surname, and yet of goode power by their freends and alliaunces within that shire. His house of Ersking standeth in the Renfrew, three myles from Dunbertane, vpon the syde of Clyde water; his house of residence, called Allowaye, standeth on the north syde Forth, 6 myles from Sterlinge.

* Randolph. † Perth. ‡ Inchmahon.

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This Lord is now, for his goode service and truthe, created Erle of Marre, and last was Regent of Scotland.

THE LORD LEUINGSTON.

The Lord Leuingston, of the same surname, an ancyent baron. His chief house, called the Castell of Callender, lyeth 17 myles from Edinburgh, in the high way to Stirlinge, very well situate. Of his surname be the Lords of Kilsyth in the Leuenax, and Dunypace in Sterlingshire, , the first two of goode lyvinge, and other gentlemen, besyde the Fawkirke and Kers, men of goode stomake, of no greate power. This Lordes lyvinge is hurte by adheringe to the part of the late Scottes queene.

THE LORD FLEMINGE.

The Lord Fleminge, of the same surname, descended from Robert Fleminge, who, for his goode service at the battell of Bannaburne,* was rewarded with the landes of Cummernald, 24 myles from Edinburgh, by Kinge Robert Brus; these landes lyeth west from Edinburgh, and hath a chase of read deare, wylde white kyne. He is Lord Chamberlayne of Scotland, Sherif of Tweddell, called Pebles. He hath an other house at Begger, a towne vpon the head of Twede water. He hath fewe gentlemen of his surname of any effect, save the Lord of Boghall, who was capitayne of Dunbertane, where he was lately taken by the Erle of Leuinox freendes, and the Lord escaped. His lyvinge is hurte by adheringe to the opinion of the late Queene Mary. He is of the Frenche faction, and hath a brother Grand Prior in France, and base brother to the Kinge. This house of Fleminge is allyed and freendes with Angus, with the Lords of Drummonde and Erskinge.

WILLIAM LORD HAY OF YESTER.

The Lord Yester, called Hay, descended from the house of Arrell, Constable of Scotland. His chief house, called Yester, within 4 myles of Hadington, in Lowtheame, was taken in the warres of Edward the sext by the last Lord Grey. There be but fewe gentlemen of that house, savinge Mr John Haye and the Lord of Allowe. His power not greate, of goode livinge. Yester is allyed with the Erles of Angush and Morton.

* Bannockburn.

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THE LORD DRUMMOND.

The Lord Drummond, of the same surname, is descended from Sr John Drummond of Stobhall, knight, whose daughter Robert the third of the Stewardes maryed. Their chief house, called Drymmen, standeth in Straitherne, within the Sherifdome of Saint Johnston, called Perth, 18 myles northward from Sterlinge. Ther be of that surname the Lord of Innerpefrye, Erne, Drummond, and others not of greate power. A surname subtile and of cruell stomake, as appeered by the buryinge of lxx. Murreyes, their neighbours, in one church. The women of that house haue ben fayre commonly lemmans to kinges of that lande, as to James the Fourth* and to James the Fifte his sonne. They have matched with the houses of Huntley; the last George borne of a daughter of that house with Angush and Flemynge very neere at this day in alliaunce.

THE LORD OLIPHANT.

The Lord Oliphant, of the same surname, descended of the Lordes of Aberdawgie. His house, called Dupline, lyeth in Straherne, vpon the water of Erne, where Edward Balliol, assisted by Edward the Third, Kinge of England, gave battell with 8ooo men only, overthrew the most part of the nobles of Scotland, and made himself kinge, called to this day the battell of Dupline. This baron is not of greate revenue, but that he hath be good landes and profitable; few gentlemen of his surname, and so of small power; yet a house very loyall to the state of Scotland, accompted no orators in their words, nor yet fooles in their deedes. They do not surmounte in their alliaunces, but content with their worshipfull neighbours. Their house lyeth two myles on this syde Saint Johnston.

LORD ROS OF HAKKET.

The Lord Ros of Hakket and Mailuile, Ros by his surname, descended from Hugh Ros, whose sonne Walter was Erle of Ros. His chief house, called Halkheade, lyeth fyve myles from Glasco westward, within haulf a myle of Paisley, and lyke distant from Crukiston, chief house of the Erle of Leuinox, in the Sherifdome of

* Our author's assertions with respect to the dishonour of this illustrious house are not historically borne out. For an account of the attachment of James IV. to Margaret Drummond, see "Monuments and Monumental Inscriptions in Scotland," ii. 156.

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Renfrew. He hath an other house beside Dalkeith called Mailuiles.* They haue ben men of goode stomackes, and hardy. Their power and lyvinge not greate. Assistances and alliances ever to the house of Leuinox. Of that housse and surname came in England, and was Lord Ros in Yorkshire, whose inheritance is come to the Erles of Rutland. This house in Scotland is now descended to a daughter.

THE LORD RUTHVEN.

The Lord Ruthven, of the same surname, Sherif of Perth by inheritance, called Saint Johnston, a shire very greate, wherein be the Stewartries of Straigherne† and Menteith. His chief house called Ruthen, within two myles of St Johnston aforesaid. A baron of goode livinge. His grandfather maryed one of the heires of the Lord Dyrleton, and so augmented his revenue. This man's father maryed the daughter of Archibald Erle of Angush, haulf sister to my Lady Margaret Leuinox. This man now is Lord Threasorer of Scotland. The house of Ruthven have ben always very loyall to their estate, wyse, and men hardy. Not many of their surname, but of goode power by their freendes and alliances.

THE LORD MAXWELL.

The Lord Maxwell, of the same surname. Their forefathers came into Scotland with Edgar and Margaret his sister, that was maryed to King Malcolme Canmore. They were advaunced to sondry landes in Nithisdale vpon the west marches of Scotlande. They have sondry gentlemen of their surname. They ar altogether Wardens of those west marches. Their houses be Carlaverok overthrowen vpon invasion by the Erle of Sussex, Lieutenant for the Quene of England. These have the keepinge of the Castell of Lochmaben. The tower of Langhome be their inheritance. A house in Dunfrise, and the house of Trave, situate within the waters of Doe above Carcobright‡ within Galloway. Their power and livinge is greate. Allyed with the houses of Angus, Drulanhrig, Garleis, Loychinvar, and Johnston.

THE LORD SOMERVILE.

The Lord Somervile, of the same surname. Their residence with their surname is in Clydisdale, within the Sherifdome of Lanerik, and head towne of that shire, wherof th'erles of Arrane be sheriffes.

* Melville. † Strathearn. ‡ Kirkcudbright.

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There is descended of that house the heires of Sr John Somerville of Canethim,* a faire house in the same shire, the Lord of Plane† in Sterlingshire, and other gentlemen. Men hardie. They be of alliance with th' Erles of Angus, and dependers vpon that surname, and not addicted to the Hamiltons their neighboures, but rather enemyes in hart. A noble man of pretie lyvinge; his power not greate.

THE LORD SEATON.

The Lord Seaton, of the same surname, descended from Sr Alexander Seaton that kept the towne of Berwike in the days of Edward the Third, King of England. Their surname came home with Kinge Malcolm Canmor forth of England, and for their goode services and loyaltie ever to the estate were made Barones. Their chief house, called Seaton, standeth in Lowtheameshire, 7 miles east from Edinborough. A man of no great lyvinge, but very goode landes that he hath. They haue ben altogither of the Frenche faction, and advaunced sometyme by pension dearly bought. Ther is of that house and surname, the Knight of Alebodye‡ besyde Sterlinge. They haue matched with Bothwell and Borthwik. The last maryed a French woman. He hath ben hurt by assistinge the late Quene of Scottes.

THE LORD HUME.

The Lord Hume, of the same surname, descended from the Lordes of Stanford in England, was advanced for service to sondrey landes in the Mers that was th'erle of Marches. They haue ben of longe tyme Wardens of the east marches of Scotland, and some tyme of all three. They have ben Lord Chamberleyn of Scotland, and of greate power; and sondrey gentlemen of goode power and lyvinge of their surname, of whom the Lordes of Wedderburn, Red Brayes, Coldenknowes, Falscastell, Broxmouth, and others. Their chief houses be Hume Castell, Falscastell, now Dowglas and Thorneton, both in Lowtheame, and burnt by Englishmen. The Lordes have not of late ben accompted wise, yet hardy, and by improvidence of late lost sondry claymes in the Mers, as Bronfield, Dixsones, Trotters, and others. They have ben allyed with the houses of Bothwell, Arrane,

* Cambusnethan. † Plean. ‡ Tullibody.

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Crawforde, Borthwik, and others greate men, now almost ruyned for the part of their late Queene.

THE LORD BORTHWIK.

The Lord Borthwik, of the same surname, came to Quene Margaret, wyf to Kinge Malcolme Canmore, forth of Hungary. Their chief house called the Castell of Borthuik, standing vpon T * water in Lowtheame, eight myles south from Ed^r^. An house ever true and loyall to the estate, iust in all promyses, and hater of theves, much gyven to quyetnesse, religious in their doinges, and hardy when tyme requyreth. They haue ben allied with th' Erles of Bothuile, Montgomery, with Seaton, and others. Barons of an indifferent goode lyvinge. Sondrey gentlemen of that surname, of whome was S^r^ John Borthwik, knight,† that earnest and goode Protestant, and a servitor to the Englishe estate.

THE LORD BOYDE.

The Lord Boyde of the same surname, his predecessor beinge Lord, was in the dayes of James the Third of the Stewarts atteinted more vpon malice of courte then for any lawful deseart, as appeared by the soubdayne deathe of the Lord Grey, then Chief Justice vpon appellation of the said Lord at gyvinge the sentence. This man's father, called Robert Boyde, was created Lord Boyde by James Erle of Arrane, beinge governour, and gott the chief house called the Castell of Kylmarnok, and all the landes apperteyninge thereto, lyenge besyides Kilmawse in Cuninghame, and of old freendship with th' Erles of Glencarne. This man is wise, honest, and of very goode religioun, and matched his sonne with the Sherif of Are, and so of goode force. A surname of right hardie men.

THE LORD INNERMETH.

The Lord Innermeth, called Stewart, descended of the Stewartes of Lorne and Atholl. Their chief house, called Innermeth, lyeth in Straitherne, 6 myles south from Sant Johnston; men of no greate

* Borthwick Castle is situated on the river Tyne.

† Sir John Borthwick early embraced the Reformed doctrines, and was, in 1540, cited before the ecclesiastical court at St Andrews on an indictment embracing thirteen charges of heresy. He fled for protection to the Court of Henry VIII. By the decree of Cardinal Beaton, he was burnt in effigy at St Andrews.

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power, of indifferent lyvinge, no greate vndertakers, but quyett in their contrey. They ar allyed of late with a daughter of the Capitaine of Faulklande, called Beaton.

THE LORD TERRIKLES.*

The Lord Terrikles, whose surname was called Heryes; the house and landes descended to daughters lately; John Maxwell, second sonne to Robert Lord Maxwell deceased, and vncle to this Lord Maxwell, maryenge the eldest daughter of Herrys, and compoundinge with the rest, was created baron, and advaunced by the late dowager and Arrane, beinge governour, and now called Lord Herrys. His chief house lyeth in Nithisdale, besides Drumfries, ioyninge with the boundes of the Lord Maxwell, his nephew. By that lyvinge and other his provisions, he is of a goode revenue as his chief, so they two now be of greate force.

THE LORD SINCLERE.

The Lord Sinclere, descended of the Erles of Orkenye and Cathnes, and of the same surname. His chief house, called Rauynsnes,† lyeth vpon the sea syde, nigh the town of Dysart in Fyff. He hath the most part of his landes and surname in Orkenye; of indifferent lyvinge, and no greate force in these partes of Scotland. They matched of late with the Lord Salton, with the Lord Glencarnok, a greate man of the Cunynghames, and with sondrey other barons; men civile and honest, no shirklers in their common wealth. Their ancesters came forthe of Fraunce, and not of Hungary.

THE LORD SEMPILL.

The Lord Sempill, of the same surname, is Sherif by inheritance of the Sherifdome called the Barony of Renfrewe, lyenge on the south syde of the water of Clyde, from Glasco, to beyonde Southennen, beinge 28 miles in length, a very proper contrey. His chief houses lyenge in the same Sherifdome be Castell Semple, a very fayre house, but lately defaced; the house of Lauen, and the Castell of Southennen, with a house new buylded in Paisleye. They be a proper surname. This man was adherent to the Lordes at the apprehension of the late Quene Mary, and of that syde. They be allyed with th'erles of Eglington, and haue bene somtyme in controversy with

* Terregles. † Ravenscraig.

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the Cunyghames, and overmatched with that surname; men sufficient hardy, their lyvinge not greate, and of late hurte.

THE LORD VCHILTREE.

The Lord Vchiltree, called Stewart, descended from the house of Leuinox. This man's father was Lord Auendale, which was his ancyent house, and very noble, descended from Andrew Lord Auendale, Chauncellour of Scotland. He maryed th'erle of Arrane's sister, and because Auendale ioyneth with Hamilton, he exchaunged with S[r] James Hamilton, th'erle's base sonne, for the landes of Vchiltree. There haue ben worthie men of that house, as the late Lord Methwen; James Stewart, Capitayne of Doune; and Robert Stewart, slayne with the Prince of Conde in Fraunce, brother to this Lorde, who is a man of most zelous religion.

THE LORD CREITHON.

The Lord Creithon or Sancher,* called Creighton, their surname before beares, came forth of Hungary with Edgar and his Quene in Scotland in tyme of Kinge Malcolm Cammore, and afterward made barones, and now be Sherifes of Nythisdale by inheritance. Their chief house, called Sancher Castell, standeth in the head of that shire. Ther be many greate gentlemen of that surname and of goode power, as the knights of Fyndrawght in the north, Straighurdie, Nynian Creighton of Culybuk, the Lard of Nawghten; sometymes capitaynes of Edingburg Castell. They matched with Leuinox and sondrey other nobles. There is an olde grudge between the Douglasses and that surname for slaughter of th' Erle of Douglas, in the tyme of James the Second.

THE LORD LINDSAYE.

The Lord Lindsaye, and of the Byres in Lowtheame, is descended from the house of Crawford; he is now Sherif of Fyff, which lately was at the house of Kathoes; his chief house, called Struder, standeth within two myles of Cowpare in Fyff, 8 miles on this syde S[t] Andros. A man of indifferent lyvinge, no greate power of himself, nor yet many of his surname from that house. This man is hardy, and hath ben loyall to the state and very constant.

* Sanquhar.

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THE LORD METHVEN.

The Lord Methwen, the first therof Henry Stewart, brother to late Androwe Lord Auendale, and husband to the late Quene Margaret of Scotland, who purchased the landes of that baronage and gave theim to him and his heirs, and was created Baron and Lord Methwen by James the Fift her sonne, and made Maister of the Ordinaunce and Sherif of Linlithchu by inheritance. His house lyeth in the Sherifdome of Perth, abone Sant Johnston. The last lord gotten vpon the Countess of Sutherlande, daughter of the Erle of Athell. After the slaughter of the Erle of Leuinox, late Regent, whome he dearlie loved, could not enioy in Scotland, past to France, and there dyed, and hath a yonge sonne to succeide. They be of noble blood, very religious and valiaunt.

THE LORD FORBOYS.

The Lord Forboys, of the same surname. At their beginninge wer called Boys, and for their goode service gotte sondrey landes in the Mearnes, by the gifte of King Robert Brus. Afterward, for killinge of a bear, they wer called Forbes, and gotte these armes, of whome this lord is descended, and many other gentlemen of that name. Their chief residence and their beinge in the northe of Scotland within the Sherifdome of Abirdene. A man of goode power and lyvinge, and hath ben enemyes to th'erles of Huntley, whome they haue manfully withstoode consyderinge his greatnes.

THE LORD SALTON AND ROTHAMAYE.

The Lord Salton and Rothamaye is called to name Abirnethie; they descended from S^r^ David Abirnethy, sister sonne to Kinge Robert Brus, and was called the flower of chiualry for his greate actes don agaynst the Turkes. This baron hath ben ever loyall, without spotte since their first creation, and very valiaunt. His house called Salton, beside Hadington, standeth in Lowheame, but his chief house and contynuall residence, called Rothamaye, is in the north, a pallace very fayre. He is of goode power and lyvinge, and albeit Huntley his neighbour hath much repyned that house, yet they haue stowtly withstoode theim by their greate freendship and wealth, and haue lyved alwayes in greate love and quyet with the Erles of Murrey and other barons in the northe. This man is descended of the daughter of the Lord Dintlare; honest in religion.

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THE LORD GRAYE.

The Lord Graye, of the same surname. Andrew Greye, his forefather, of whome he is descended, came with James the First, kinge of that name of the Stewartes at his redemption forth of England, he gott sondrey goode landes in Gowrie and Angush, and so by their goode service became barons. They be Sherifes of Angush or Forfare, beinge the hedde towne of the shire, by inheritance. Their cheif house, called Fowles, standeth in the Kers of Gowrie, in the same shire, 4 myles westward from Dundee; and from the said towne eastward 2 myles standeth vpon the side of Taye Broughtie Craige, his inheritance, lately in Englishe possession. They haue sondrey gentlemen of their surname, and of goode power, men hardy and of goode religion; they haue matched with the houses of Crawforde, Hume, Londie, and sondrey other nobles.

THE LORD ELPHINGSTON.

The Lord Elphingston, of the same surname, was created Baron by James the Fourth, slayne at Flowdon, and maryd an English gentlewoman called Barley, that came in Scotland with Queene Margaret, eldest daughter to Henry the Seventh, forth of England, and gott on her the last Lord Elphingston. His house, called Elphingston, lyeth on the east part of Sterlinge, towardes Forthe ryver. There be of that surname the Lord of Henderston, in the same shire; the Lord lyeth in Sterlingshire, of no greate power and lyvinge, allyed since and dependinge vpon the Lord Erskine, now Erle of Marre.

THE LORD GLAMMES.

The Lord Glammes, descended from John Lyon, first made secretary to th'Erle of Crawforde, and after familiar to Robert the Second, the first Kinge of the Stewartes, and was made Chauncelor; maryed his daughter, called Elizabeth, and gott the Glammes and many riche landes in Angush, and so created Baron; and gave theim the armes of Scotland with the treasure, savinge they should beare three lyons in a blacke feld, which is not heere. That first Lord was slayne by the Erle of Crawford, envyenge his felicity; and longe banyshed for that act. Their chief house, Glammes, lyeth in Angush; of greatest revenue of any baron of that land. This last Lord, borne of the daughter of th' Erle of Angush, and so

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that way allyed. Fewe gentlemen of their surname, and best enterteyned for their revenue.

THE LORD CAITHCART.

The Lord Caithcart, of the same surname. His chief house, called Caithcart, standeth two myles south from Glasco, in Renfrewe sherifdome. He matched with the house of Semple, and is that Lorde's sister sonne. He is decayed bothe in lyvinge and surname, and therefore of the lesse accompt.

THE LORD LOVET.

The Lord Lovet, called Fresell,* whose surname came from Hungary. His landes and resydence lyeth toward Loghwhenor, far north; created Baron in the dayes of James the Second of the Stewartes. The last Lord, with all his kynne and freendes, savinge one boy to succeede, was slayne in the 27 yere of Henry the Eight by the Clanrannald, a mischeuous surname, in the Isles, valiauntly foughten. This Baron is of goode lyvinge and power in the north, allied and a dependaunt vpon the Erle of Huntley. A surname esteemed honest and very hardy.

THE LORD OGILWY.

The Lord Ogilwy, of the same surname, is descended from Alexander Ogilwy, then Sherif of Angush, slayne by the power of Donald of the Isles in a sore conflict called the battell of Harlawe, in the reigne of James the First; afterward for their goode service created Barons, whose chief house and residence is on the syde of Angush towardes the Meirnes, men of goode lyvinge. And from that house is descended S^{r} Walter Ogilwy, knight, Sherif of Banf, in the north; the Knight of Fynnator, bothe men of greate lyvinges in the north; and sondrey other gentlemen. They be men of fayre complexion, wise, and ciuill, and of goode power, allied with the Erles of Craweford and sondrey other barons about theim.

THE LORD CARLEIL.

The Lord Carleil, of that surname, an ancyent Baron, but now both decayed in lyvinge and power, and in surname also. Their house, called Therthrowell,† of a stronge and thicke wall buylded,

* Fraser. † Torthorwald.

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standeth in the foote of Nythisdale towardes Loighes water on the west syde, and Esk , at that part called Sullawaye* on the southe. They be now onely appendauntes with their small powers vpon the Lord Maxwell and such as be wardens for the tyme.

THE LORD OF THE ISLES.

The Lord of the Isles of Skye and Lewes, called Makloyd, the furthest isles lyenge towarde the north, betwixt Loigguhabir† and Stranauerne,‡ speakinge the Irishe tongue, of goode power and lyvinge in this contrey, but of small power to bringe in the southe part of Scotland to armye royall, and so not much to be esteemed. They be very obedient to the estate.

The Lord of the Isles, of the same surname, Makconele or Makcane, for their greatnes, vnstable loyaltie, and for their often incursions on the mayne lande of Scotlande, oftentymes difficill agayne to bringe to obedience, was inhibit by Kinge Robert Brus in his last will never to make a Lord of the Isles. And therfore sondrey tymes have ben atteynted, and lastly by James the Fourth, who put the principall of theim to deathe on the Borrowe Mure of Edinburgh. Of late was one created, ioyned with Matthewe Erle of Leuinox, in the service of Kinge Henry the Eight, and dyed in Ireland. There is none now but the children of James Makconele and Charlie Bowe, a concourser in Ireland. Their chief residences in Kintire and Ratrayes.

THE STEWARTS OF LORNE.

The Lord of Lorne, a contrey ioyninge to Argile, and was not longe agoe the landes of the crowne, and inhabited by the best sort of Stewartes, called the Stewartes of Lorne, whereof be now but a few and yet valiaunt. These landes and lordshippe be now the inheritance of th' Erles of Argile, and called Lordes of Lorne in their stile.

* Solway. † Lochaber. ‡ Strathnairn.

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LIST AND CHARACTERS OF THE NOBILITY OF SCOTLAND DURING THE REIGN OF KING JAMES THE SIXTH, 1583-1602.*

I.—An Opinion of the Present State, Faction, Religion, and Power of the Nobility of Scotland. MDLXXXIII.†

PREFATORY NOTE BY SIR WALTER SCOTT.

"The English princes, since the reign of Henry VIII., had made the important discovery that they could more easily avoid the dangers to be apprehended from Scotland by supporting and encouraging a party within the kingdom itself than by force of arms. The progress of the Reformation in Scotland tended greatly to favour this course of policy; since the Protestant nobles were easily induced to look to England for support, even at some risk of national independence, when they beheld the power of France exerted on the part of the Catholics. The following list, evidently made up by one of the English envoys or agents, is curious, as showing the state of these two contending parties, and the respective influence of the nobility engaged in either faction about the year 1583."

A BRIEFE OPINION of the STATE, FACTION, RELIGION, and POWER of the severall NOBLEMENN in SCOTLANDE, as they dwell, not placinge them accordinge to their Greatness, Degree, or Antiquitie, vnder the Raigne of Kinge James VI. Anno Domini, 1583.

DUKE OF LENNOX.

Esme Stewart, sonne to Esme Stewart, the late Duke, is an infant, and remaineth yet in Fraunce. The lyuinge he hathe in Scotland, besydes that his father gott by the forfaitures of the Hamiltons and Erle of Morton, is very small, the whole propertie of the olde Erledome of Lennox beinge morgaged, dismembred, and brought in manner to nothinge, and the reste

* From "Miscellany of the Bannatyne Club," i. 51-72, Edin. 4to, 1827.

† From Appendix to "Original Letters of Mr John Colville, 1583-1602," printed for the Bannatyne Club, 1858.

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like to breede him some troble with the Hamiltons and the Douglasses, if euer the tyme affourde them the oportunitie to recouer their owne. He is Shereife of Dumbretoun, and hath the chief commandement of that castell, beinge a place of principall strengthe amongest all the fortis of Scotlande.

ERLES.

ORKENAY.

The Lord Robert Stewarte, base sonne of King James Vth., hathe possessed Orkenay and Zetlande since this Kinge was crowned, beinge a chief thinge of the Kinge's propertie, and created into an Erldome in Nouember 1581. A man dissolute in lyef, lyttle sure to any faction, of small zeale in religion. His reuennu is greate, and power suche as those countries can make. His wyef is daughter to the olde Erle of Cassills, and aunte to him that now lyuethe.

KATHNES.

George Sinclair, half-brother to this Erle Bothuille, by the mother's syde, is a youthe of xvij years of age, vnder the tutorie of therle of Gowrie, who hath his wardeshipp (a cause of the late vnkindenes and harte-burninge betwene him and Bothuille). Of his religion and inclination their is yet lyttle tryall. His power extendes ouer the bondes of Cathnes, although therle Marshall and the Lorde Oliphonte be porcioners with him of that countrye.

SUTHERLANDE.

Alexander Gordon, a younge man within xxx yeres of age, a branch lately discended of the house of Hunteley, and hath maried this Erle of Huntley's father's sister, that was diuorced from the late Erle Bothuille. He is in lyuinge poore; in religion well affected, but of no greate partie nor enterprise. His mother was sister to Matthew, Erle of Lennox.

MURRAY.

James Stewarte, eldest sonne to the Lord of Down, be-

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gotten on this Erle of Argile's sister, styled of that erledom in the right of his wyef, being theldest doughter of James, laste Erle of Murray and Regent. Is a yonge man of xvij years of age; of a very tall stature, but lyttle proofe.

HUNTLEY.

George Gordon, his mother was doughter to the Duke Hamilton; himselfe aboute xxj yeres of age. In religion doubted, and in affection Frenche. He is contracted to marry with the Duke of Lennox doughter, by whose meanes he obteyned the Kinge's fauor. His power and frendeshipp in the north is greate; his estate as yet not fully restored since the forfaiture of his father; and therefore slowe to engage himself in any faction or quarrell of state, but at the Kinge's pleasure, to whose humor and fauor he dothe wholly bende and apply himself.

BUCHANE.

James Douglas, an infante of three or four yeres old, the sonne of Robert Douglas, seconde brother to this Lairde of Locheleuin, who married the heretrix. An Erledome that some now in courte are suspected to have aimed at, to the prejudice of this younge Erle.

ERROLL.

Andrew Hay, Constable of Scotland, a man of lv yeres olde; of great lyuinge and power; but the man himself of lyttle valure and judgement.

MARSHALL.

George Keith, marshall; a younge noble man of good commendation; his lynnige ancient, and reuennew greatest of any Erle in Scotlande. His mother was sister to this Erle of Erroll, and himself maryed to the Lord Hume's doughter, sister to him that now is. He was lefte very welthye; and is esteemed honest, religious, and fauoringe the best parte.

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CRAUFOURDE.

Dauide Lindsey, a younge man of an auncient house, of Erle of that surname. His mother was doughter to the Cardinall himself; maryed to therle of Athol's sister. His liuing and estate muche ruined. Himself in affection Frenche; in religion vnsettled; but his power tyed shorte by the feude he hath with the Master of Glamis and his frendes, for the slaughter of the last Lord Glamis, committed at Sterlinge.

ATHOL.

John Stewarte; his mother the Lord Fleminge's doughter; himself maryed to therle of Gowrie's doughter; a man of lyttle valuer or accompte; in religion suspected; and that power he hathe is of Hilandmen, but not greate.

ROTHES.

Androwe Leslye, a man of 1 yeres and vpwardes; noted to be wyse, but no open medler or party taker in any faction. He is of good welthe, power, and frendes. Himself maryed the Erle of Gowrie's sister, and his sonne the Lord Linsaye's doughter.

MONTROIS.

John Grahame, a man aboue xxx yeres of age; borne of the same mother with therle of Atholl. His wyef the Lord Drumunde's doughter. His power not greate; in affection Frenche, and in religion doubted. He seemes to depende on therle of Argile, the rather to fortyfie himself againste therle of Angus and his frendes, whose wyef he is charged to haue dishonered. The man is, for courage and spirite, a principall man amonge the nobilitie of Scotlande.

MENTEITH.

William [John] Grahame, an infant; his mother was daughter to [Sir James] Douglas of Drumlangrige. His power is small, and that of Hylandmen dependinge one therle of Ergile, whose mother was therle of Menteith's daughter.

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Here the Duke of Lennox is to be placed accordinge to his dwellinge.

MARCHE.

Robert Stewarte, vncle to the late Duke, brooking in effecte but the title of therldome, is a man paste lx, simple, and of lyttle action or accompte. His repudiate wyef is now maryed to Stewarte, the pretended Erle of Arrane. He is Bushop of Cathnes, and Prior of St Andrews.

GLENCARNE.

James Cunningham, is a man aboue xxx yeres of age, not well thought of since the trobles in Scotlande, aboute the remouing of the late Duke, wherein he was suspected not to haue delte sincerely. He is of reasonable good lyvinge, if yt were freed of the morgages wher [with] some of his auncestors haue entangled a good parte thereof. His power is reasonable great, by his surname and frendes, and in religion thought to be well affected.

EGLINTON.

Hew Mongomery, a man about l yeres of age, inclyned to quietnes, and of no greate action or capacitie. He is thought to fauor the [blank in MS.], and deemed in affection to be Frenche, and in religion not throughly assured. His sonne hath maryed the Lorde Bwyde's [Boyd's] doughter.

ARRANE.

James Stewarte, seconde sonne to the Lord Vchiltree; a man from nothinge sodenly raysed to the state he is in by the fauor of the late Duke, for the good seruice he did in accusinge and persecutinge the Erle of Moreton to the deathe; a man of more wytte than courage, but of no fayeth, conscience, or honestie; insolent where he preuayleth, and of a restlesse and troblesome spiryte; suspected of all men, and never fauored or trustyd of any but his like; of no power, frendes, or welth, but that he hathe by his vsurped Erledom of Arrane.

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CASSILLS.

John Kenned, an infant; his mother was sister to the Lord Glannis. He possesseth a greate countrye, and hathe many frendes in Carrich and Gallowaye.

GOWRIE.

William Ruthney, L. Ruthney [Ruthuen], Treasurer of Scotlande, lately created Erle of Gowrie; a man whose courage and power hathe bene well tryed, bothe in former actions againste the Quene's partie, etc., and of late the Earl of Ruthney against Lennox. He is greately hated by the Quene, as well for his father's action in the slaughter of Dauid, as for his owne doughter suire againste her and her frendes. He is in religion well affected, inclyned to the amitie of Englande, but since his enterteyninge the frendshipp and seruice of Sir Robert Meluin, his vnder-treasurer, he is fallen into some jelousie with the better sort.

MORETON.

John Maxewell, Lord Maxewell, late created Erle, after the forfeiture of the laste Erle Moreton and Regent, whose brother's doughter, sister to the Erle of Angus, he maryed; his mother beinge one of the three doughters of the olde Erle of Moreton; a follower of the late Duke of Lennox, a man vnsetled in religion, Frenche in affection, of reasonable power and frendis vpon the borders, but of no greate gouernement or iudgement.

BOTHUILLE.

Francis Stewarte, the son of the Lord John, Prior of Coldisham, one of the base sonnes of King James the V^th^. and of this laste Erle of Bothuille's sister; a man not paste xxj yeres of age, well trauayled, and of goode wytt and gouernement. His wyef is sister to therle of Angus, that was wydow to the Larde of Baucolugh [Buccleuch], by whome he hathe greate welthe. He is well giuen in religion, and in speciall frendeshippe with therles of Angus and Marr.

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ARGILE.

Coline Campbell, a man of fortie yeres and aboue, of a greate house, lyuinge, and power, chiefely of Hilandmen. He is now Chauncellor, and by inheritance Cheife-Justice. Religious, and of good nature, but weak in iudgement, and ouermuche ledd by his wyef; a man very sickely, and not like to lyue longe.

ANGUS.

Archibald Douglas, a younge noble man, of an honest and curtuous nature; religious, fauoringe the best parte, and of greate power and lyuinge in the heicher partis of Scotlande. Vnhappy in his mariage; his firste wyef was sister to therle of Marr, and dyed without issue; his laste, a woman touched in her honor with therle of Mountrois, and therfore abondoned of her husbande, is doughter to therle of Rothes. Himself is the first baron in their Parliament, Huntley the second, and Argile the thirde.

LORDES OR BARONS OF PARLIAMENT.

LOUET

Hew Frasser, a childe of xij yeres of age, sonne to her that is now Lady of Arrane; ane auncient house, and of good power of Hilandmen in the north.

SALTON.

Alexander Abirnethie, an auncient baron, but no great lyuinge or power; a seldome curtier and medler in any faction.

FORBES.

John Forbes, a man aged, betwixt whome and the house of Huntley hathe ben longe and greate feude. His landis and frendes lye cheifely in Abirdeneshire; himself estemed to fauor religion, and encline to the beste parte.

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INNERMYRE [INNERMEATH].

James Stewarte; aunciente, but nether of greate lyuinge, power, or enterprise.

GLANNIS.

John Lyon, an infant, vnder the charge of his vncle, the Mastir of Glannis [Glamis], who mainteyneth the feude with therle of Craufourde, for the slaughter of his lordis father; his liuinge, power, and frendis greate; and the man, his vncle, a man religious, wise, and valiante.

GRAY.

Patricq Gray, an aged man, estemed to come of English bloode, that came into Scotlande with the Lady Somerset, wyef to King James the Firste. In religion suspected; of no greate power or frendes. His eldest sonne maryed therle of Gowrie's father's sister, and his other, the doughter of Lord Glannis.

OGILUY.

James Ogiluy, a man of no greate lyuinge, but of a good number of landed men of his surname, which makes his power in Angus the greater. His sonne maryed therle of Gowrie's doughter. Himself was an earnest fauorer of the Duke, and is demed Frenche in affection, and vnsettled in religion.

METHUEN.

Henry Stewarte, an infant; his father was slaine in the cyuill warres, by the shott of a canon out the Castle of Edenburgh. He is sister's sonne to therle of Gowrie; a new house, and of no greate lyvinge or power.

OLIPHONT.

Lawrence Oliphont, a man paste 1; an auncient baron, and of great lyuinge, but his landes lye dispersed. His sonne maryed Locheleuin's doughter; a younge gentelman of good valure and accompte. Himself maryed therle of Arrole's sister.

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DRUMMOUNDE.

Dauid Drummounde, maryed the laste Erle of Craufourde's doughter; of an auncient house, and hathe a iland of frendes in Stratherin. Himself vnnable in his hearinge, and is presentely in Fraunce.

LYNDSAY.

Patricq Lindsay, a very auncient baron, of good lyuinge, frendeshippe, and power, cheifely in Fife. A man that hath shewed himself stoute and constante in the cause of religion, and seruice of the Kinge againste his mother's partie. His eldest sonne hath maryed therle of Rothes' doughter.

SAINT CLAIRE.

Henry Sinclair, discended of the olde Erles of Orkenay; a man of good nature, but of small lyuinge, and lyttle action.

ELPHINGSTON.

Robert Lord Elphingston, made Lord in the dayes of King James the iiij$^{th.}$, by the maryage of an English lady called Barlow, that came into Scotlande with his Quene. Himself not wyse; his sonne a proper young gentelman, dependinge partely on therle of Huntley, and partely one therle of Marr, beinge nere cousin to them bothe. His lyuinge and power is not greate, and his religion lyttle valued.

LEUINGSTON.

William Leuingston, a man of no great judgement or lyuinge, but of an auncient house, and many frendis of his surname; in religion outwardly well affected; in affection Frenche. His sonne departed out of Scotland into Fraunce with the Duke.

FLEMINGE.

James Fleminge, a youth of xv yeres of age; his house auncient, his lyvinge small, and himself in muche debte and troble by his father's doingis whilest he held the Castell of Dumbreton.

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SOMERVILE.

Hew Someruile; an auncient house, but of no greate lyuinge or power. He maryed the Lord Seton's sister, and dwelleth in Cluddesdale.

SIMPLE [SEMPLE].

Robert Simple, a youth of xvj yeres of age; his lyuinge not greate, but of an auncient house. He hathe lately maried therle of Eglinton's doughter.

BOYDE.

Robert Lord Boyde, a man past lx yeres; he is accompted wyse, and of good welthe and power. His auncestors were greate in the days of King James the Seconde. Himself hath putt of many stormes. He is a fauorer of the Douglasses, and alwayes hated of the house of Lennox.

VCHILTREE.

Androwe Stewarte, the successor of the Lord of Auendale; himself a man aged, hauinge to his seconde sonne this Erle of Arrane, and some others of ill gouernment. His owne lyuinge and power of lyttle value.

CATHCARTE.

Allane Cathcarte; an auncient name and house, and of some good frendis. He is one of the Masters of Household to the Kinge. His lyvinge and power not greatly valued.

HEREIS.

William Maxewell, a younge man of xxvj yeres of age; he married the Abbot of Newbottle's doughter. His mother was heretrix to tholde Lord Hereis; his father a man of good wytt and seruice; himself of good reputation, but of no greate power.

HUME.

Alexander Hume, a younge man of xvij yeres of age; of a greate lyuinge, and many frendes, althoughe they all follow

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him not. Himself of no very good gouernement or hope. His mother is doughter to the Lord Gray, and now wyef to the Master of Glannis. His surname and power upon the borders is very great.

BORTHVUICH.

James Borthvuich, a childe of xiiij yeres olde, yet maryed to the Lord Zester's doughter. An auncient name and house, but greately decayed by the laste Lorde, who was of yll gouernement, and dyed in Edenburgh not past two yeres since of the Frenche decease.

ZESTER.

William Hay; a braunche of the house of Arroll; of good lyuinge and power, but no courtier, or partaker in any factions. His sonne maryed the Lord Hereis' sister.

SETON.

George Seton; an auncient baron, and of reasonable lyuinge, which lyeth all in Lothian, within 6 or 7 miles of Edenburgh. His power is not greate, nor his frendis or followers many. He hath ben alwayes Frenche in affection, and is in harte a Papiste, thoughe he dare not aduowe it. Of a nature busye and curyous; of more speche than iudgement; a principall instrument [of the] sc. Quene; and a harbourer of Jesuitis, and fugitiues of a countrye, and enemye to a peace.

TORPHECHYN.

James Sandelande, an infant; brother's sonne and heire to the laste, and first lord of that barony, which being before the house of St John's was erected into a temperall lordeshipp by the Quene that now lyveth. His mother is sister to Mr James Murray, and hath now maryed Mr John Graham, a seruante of therle of Argile to the greif and mislike of her best frendes.

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The Principall Officers of the State of Scotland.

Argile, . . . The Chauncellor, and Cheif-Justice by inheritance.
Gowrie, . . . The Lord Treasorer of Scotlande.
Bothuile, . . The Admirall.
Erroll, . . . The Constable of Scotland by inheritance.
Marshall, . . The Erle Marshall.
Lennox, . . The Greate Chamberlaine.—The place was hereditary to the house of the Lord Fleminge, but translated from that name since his forfaiture.

Wardens on the Borders.

Lord Hume, Warden one the easte marches.
Lord Sesfurde, Warden of the middle marche.
Larde of Johnston, Warden of the weste marche, by prouision.

Dumfermling, ... Secretary of State.
Fenton, ... Comptroller of the Kinge's Housholde.
Blantire, ... Lord Privie Seale.
A. Hay, ... Clerk-Register.
Ballandine, ... Justice-Clerke.
Da. Macgill, ... The Kinge's Aduocate.

Principall Fauorites, and of the Kinge's Chamber.

The Collonell Stewarte.
The Prior of Blantire.
Dauid Gllass.

The Lordes of the Session.

Churchmen Ordinary.

The Lord Prouane, President, . Mr William Baillie.
The Bushope of Orkenay, . . Mr Adam Bothwell.
The Abbot of Dumfermling, . Mr Robert Pretarie [Pitcairne].
The Deane of Murray, . . . Mr Alexander [Arch$^{d.}$] Dumbarre.
The Parson of Menny [Menmure,] . . . . . } Mr John Lyndesay.

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The Abbot of Cullws [Culross], Mr Alexander Colluille.
The Parson of Winton, . . . Mr Patricque Vass, Lard of Barneborrowe.
The Provost of the Quene's Colledg, ... Mr Robert Punt.

Laymen Ordinary.

The Chauncellor, ... Therle of Argile.
The Larde of Ledingston, . . Sir Richarde Mateland.
The Larde of Segie, ... Mr James Meldrum.
The Larde of Quhittingham, . [Wm.] Douglas, brother to Archibald.
The Larde of Ledington's sonne, Mr John Mateland.
The Clerk-Register, ... Mr Alexander Hay.
The Kinge's Aduocate, . . . Mr Dauid Macgill.
Mr Thomas Ballandine.

Laymen Extraordinary.

The Treasorer.
The Lord Bwyde [Boyd].

Kirkemen Extraordinary.

The Abbott of Newbottle.
The Abbott of Balmerinoch.

II.—A List of Scottish Nobles, and some Genealogical Memoranda of the Stewarts and others, May 1584.—(In the handwriting of William Lord Burghley.)

[1584.] May. State Paper Office. vol. xxxvi. No. 113.

Er. Huntley. Archb. of St Androos.
Er. Rothoss, Lieutenant of Scotland. Bish. of Glasguoo.
Er. Craforth.
Er. Montross, L. Tresorer.
Er. Arran, L. Chancellor.
Er. of Orknay.
Er. of March.
Erle of Bocqwhan.
Er. of Arroll.
Er. of Glancarn.
Er. of Montgomery.

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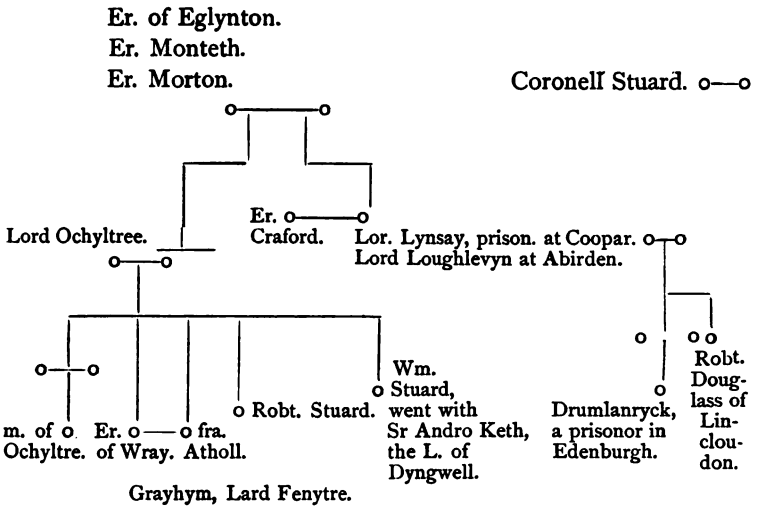

III.—The Names of the Heades presently entering into the action in Scotland, viz. :—

The Erles and others.

The Erle of Angusse.
The Erle of Atholl.
The Erle of Marr.
The Erle of Gourrye.
The Mr. of Glammes.

[1584.]
S. P. O.
vol. xxxviii.
No. 88.

The names of suche as wilbe helpers after the action begone, and which be nowe in soliciting :—

The Erle of Marshall.
The Erle of Bothewell.
The Lord Lindsey.
The Lard of Sesforde.
The L. of Coldenknowes.

The names of suche as have geven consent eyther to joyne or ells not to hynder the action :—

The Erle of Argile.
The Erle of Rothhouse.

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The Lord Forbes.
The Lord Oliphant.
with many other great Barons.
The Lard of Bodenheathe, younger sone to the Lord Boyde, redye with his forces, who will eyther gett the Erles Glencarne and Eglentoun into the action, or at least to hold backe and doe no hurt.

Indorsed—Names of the Nobilitye in Scotland, etc.

Note.—A projected conspiracy to overturn Arran's administration, but which proved unsuccessful, in April 1584. (*See* Tytler's History, vol. viii. p. 163.)

IV.—A List, in the writing of Sir Francis Walsingham, of the Nobles in Scotland, soundly affected, neutral, or opposed to England, 1585.

[1585.] S. P. O. vol. xxxviii. No. 87.

Sowndely affected.	The L. of Arbrothe.
	The E. of Angushe.
	The E. of Mar.
	The E. Marshall.
Affected.	The E. Bothewell.
	The E. Athell.
Neutralls.	The E. Morton.
	The E. Glencarne.
	The E. Rothos.
Well affected.	The L. Hume.
	The L. Cesseford.
	The Mr. of Glammes.
	The Humes.
	The Carres.
Ennemyes.	Montrosse.
	Hunteley.
	Crawforde.

By the procurement of, first, as himself confessethe Duntrithe charged the } 1. E. Angushe, 2. E. Marre, 3. M. Glammes, } Conspirators against the K. person.

He charged also Dromewessel, whoe was executed.

Indorsed—The Disposition of Certaine of the LL. in Scotlande.

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V.—A Note of suche Noble men and Gentelmen in Scotlande that be affectioned to Fraunce, Recevers and Maynteyners of the Enemyes to God, and Enemyes to our Prynce, as here foloweth :—

[1585.] S. P. O. vol. xxxviii. No. 90.

In primis Th'erle of Arun.
Th'erle of Muntrois.
The Lordis Secretarye.

For the North Parte of Scotland, about Aberdeine—

Th'erle of Huntley.
Th'erle of Huntley, his brother, a Jesuyte.
Th'erle of Crafforde.
The Lorde of Fentrie and his two sonnes, recevers of the Jesuytes, and of the money out of Fraunce, and payers to those that be practysers in Scotlande.
The L. Graye.
The L. of Downe, Collector of Scotland.
The L. of Seton and his two brothers.

For the West Parte of Scotland, at Eyer—

The L. of Ogeltree, th'Erle of Arun, his father.
The L. Mountegle, otherwise called Mountgomery.
The Bishop of Glasco.
The L. Harris, recever of the Jesuytes.
The L. Thornehurste.

VI.—The Names of such Scotche Lordes as desires to Draw Course be France, 1585.

[1585.] S. P. O. vol. xxxviii. No. 91.

Huntly, Katholike, F.
Claud Hamelton, who is thought to be the only rueler of the other brother, is both Katholike and for F.
Morton, and L. Herrise, his cosin, both K. and for F.
Arrol, both K. and for F.
Arran that was, confeses of lat to be a K. and for F.
Crouner Steuart, for F.
Montrose, a faverer of the Queene of Scotland, and F.

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The Secretary lets the Queene's freinds understand quietly that ther is not one in the world that he doth both love and honour so much as he doth here.

Sir Robert Melvin in the same stat, and for F.

The L. of Doune, and the Erle of Morrie, his sonne, likewyshe for the Queene and F.

Lord Levesston, a spessiall faverer of the Queene and Ka.

The old L. Seton's sonnes, K. F.

L. Athell, L. Huime, and Lesstarike, Katheliks, but folowes the Mr. of Gray for faccion.

The Leard of Fenntrey, a mearest Kathelike, F.

The most part of the others wilbe as the King will have them to be ether else folowe ther faccion of these other Lordes, sauing Angus and Mar, who ar a faccion themselves.

For Boodwell, he is nether here nor ther, and so are most of the others that I do not name, but would seeke the owne commoditie howe ever they mought com be it.

Indorsed—The Names of the Nobylitie of Scotland that are affected to France.

VII.—List of Scotch Nobles, whether affected to France or England, 1586.

[1586.] S. P. O. vol. xxxviii. No. 89.

Erle of Huntley,	K.	F.
Erle of Morton,	K.	F.
L. Claud Hamilton,	K.	F.
E. Craford,		F.
E. of Arroll,	K.	F.
L. Montrosse,		F.
The late Erle of Arran,	K.	F.
L. of Doune,		F.
L. Cornell Stuart,		F.
Secretarie, doubtfull.		
Sr Robert Melvin,		F.
The ould L. Seaton's sonnes,	K.	F.
Lard of Fentrie,	K.	F.
Erle of Anguise,		E.

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E. of Marr, E.
Mr. of Gray, E.

Indorsed—A Note showinge howe certeine of the Nobylitie of Scotland are affected.

VIII.—The Present State of Scotland, 1586, with their Particular Dispositions.*

I. The King's Disposition towards

[1586.] S.P.O. vol. xli. No. 73.

Religion.—*Well and soundly affected, as may be presumed by these reasons:*—1. His exercise in hearing the Woord of God allmost daily—viz., on Soondayes, fornoon and afternoon; on Wensdayes and Frydayes, in the forenoon, besydes a chapter read, with soom exposition, after every meal, which, bycause it is doon so often and ordinarly, it is to bee supposed that hee doeth it syncearly and to good effect. Hearto, that he is never absent from his ordinary sermons, but hee giveth notice before to his preacher, which argueth soom regard hee hath of his absence, which, notwithstanding, falleth owt very seldom. 2. His promptness in the Scriptures, whearin he is thought to bee as pregnant and ready, by the testimonie of the Ministers them selves, as any man within his realm, and his judgment in using and applyeng them, beeing able to confirm any speciall point of doctrine by sufficient reason out of the Woord, whearby appeareth that hee hath the knowledg and perswasion of the truth. 3. His care to give good example to other by resorting soomtime on the Soondayes to the ordinary sermons in Edinborough Church, and his patience in hearing him self publiquely reproved and admonished by the preachers thear, though they speak home, and with much libertie. Heartoe his remitting his displeasure towards certaine preachers, viz., Mr Watson and Gybson, which, though it wear obtained with soom difficultie, yet at length hee remitted all freely, without any satisfaction, which fiew princes would have doon in lyke case. Soom hard construction is made of his gesture and behaviour at the publique sermons, whear hee useth soomtime to talk with soom that stand by him, specially with Mr Peter Young, which, though it wear better forborn and reserved for privat, yet for that it is of soomthing spoken by the preacher, and not captiously (so far as I can learn), may bee well interpreted. 4.

* The words in *italics* are underlined in the original.

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His often and earnest protestations, as at the Generall Assembly of the ministers, at the arrainment of L. Maxwell, Herrise, etc., whear hee made a large and earnest profession of his love towards the truth, with a detestation of Poperie in the Tolbuth publiquely, besydes privatly to Mr Randolph, to soom of his company, at thair departing, to that effect that he would defend the Ghospell with the loss of his croun, lyfe, and all. 5. His often and open trites and deriding ofPopery in his common talk. 6. His denyeng masse to the French Ambassadour. 7. His life and conversation, which, though it bee toutched soomwhat with the common faults and misbehaviour of the countrey, viz., with swearing soomtime, etc. (whearof a speciall cause is want of sound company abowt him), yet hee keepeth it in good order, and (as a young Prince) is of a stayed behaviour, void of licentiousness and notorious faults, shewing good signes of modestie, as blushing soomtime when hee speaketh in presence, and as he sheweth outwardly; and the report is of those which are nearest about him, very chaste, and yet desirous of marriage. *Towards the discipline of the Church hee seemeth not soundly affected, bycause (as hee hath been persuaded by soom, and sheweth by plain signes, that he hath that impression), it holds within compasse, and takes away from the Prince's authoritie, which hee thincketh littel inough in Scotland as it is.*

2. ENGLAND.—*Sound and true, as it seemeth, for these reasons:*—1. The apparaunt respects he sheweth towards England for the matter of succession, whearin hee seemeth to have made this resolution, *that it is a better and readier cours for him to attain to it by favour out of England, and to strengthen him self that way, then by confederacie with any other forrein, as France, &c.* Reasons of this presumption: —The report of divers near about him, which say that hee is fully so resolved, and professeth it to them, to keep in with England for that respect, howsoever thinges fall out. The late matter of the League, whearin, notwithstanding divers dissuasions of the adverse part, and soom things on our part, that otherwise might have gon against stomak, viz., *the articles framed muche more for our benefit then for theirs; the not subscribing to the instrument for the not præjudicing his succession, which hee took to bee a promise and condition; the defalking of one thousand pound from the pension money, etc.*, he digested all, to conclude amitie. 2. For that Fraunce faileth him for pension, etc., and hee seeth the confused state thear to incline towards the better part, viz., Navarre, of whome hee vseth to speak much

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honour, and objected against the late ambassadour the dishonourable and perfidious dealing of the K. of Fr. towards him and the rest in breaking the pacification, etc., which hee speaketh muche against; besydes, hee knoweth his mother's friends thear, viz., the Guisian part, to cary more respects to his mother then to him. And though hee seemeth not to have lost all affection to his mother, notwithstanding those foul parts, yet (as they abowt him will speak) hee had rather have hir as shee is, then him self to give hir place. Hearto his colld entertainment and slight conference with the French ambassadour, both publique and privat. 3. For that hee seeth that this amitie with England, specially for the article of not receiving fugitives, etc., and other assistaunce, aweth the factions at home of his nobilitie, which otherwise hee must needs fear and dowbt more.

3. PARTS AT HOME.—Generally hee seemeth desirous of peace, as appeareth by his disposition and exercises,—viz., 1. His great delight in hunting; 2. his private delight in enditing poesies, etc. In one or both of these commonly hee spendeth the day, when hee hath no publique thing to doe. 3. His desire to withdraw him self from places of most accesse and company to place of more solitude and repast, with very small retinue, which may endaunger his person, if any soodain road should bee made from the Highlands, which having the K. have all. 4. His readines to compose matters that might trouble his peace, though with soom disadvauntage; yet, as should seem, in the same mynd with his predecessours, viz., not content with the haud the nobilitie hath over him. For that cause, it may be thought hee intertained James Steward, and advaunced him to bee Earle Arran, to encounter him with soom other of the nobilitie that wear lykelyest to keep the Government *in statu quo*, and to abate their authoritie, by soom other of niew creation.

Towards the E. E. Anguse and Marre hee may seem scarse soundly affected, notwithstanding the reconciliation. *Præsumptions.*—1. For that the reconciliation was violent, and thearfore to bee suspected. 2. For that hee counteth it yet a great dishonour to him that they wear so restoared home, as appeareth by that hee speaketh still of Mr Wotton, for his close departing, viz., that hee might have used the matter better, and have ben made a mean for the restoaring them with the saving of his honour, reckoning it a dishonour to him still that they wear so restoared, and their duetifull dealing after-

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wards no sufficient recompense to salve that dishonour, but (as it is now thought) rather a fear and dissolutenes in them. 3. For that in owtward appearaunce thear seemeth to bee but a drines betwixt the K. and those Lords. 4. For that hee suffereth a fewd to grow betwixt the EE. Marre and Bothwell, and doth not stopp it bytimes, as content to have him in dislyke with other of the nobilitie.

Towards *Arran, James Steward.*—It is commonly supposed that hee beareth him soom secreat favour. *Præsumptions of it.*—1. *Bycause* hee suffred him to continue within his realm so long time after his proscription, and gave him twoe monthes more after the time expired, and his repulse owt of Ireland. 2. For that hee hath his brother, Sir W. Steward, very near abowt him, who giveth owt that his brother James shall bee in place again ear long, as high as before, and speaketh it confidently. 3. Bycause hee suffreth him and his wyfe to enjoy suche jewells as they had conveyed from him, and urgeth it not greatly. 4. For that the day after the ambassadour's departing from the L. Bothwel's, whear hee left the King, it is sayed for a certaintie that Arran cam thither and conferred with the King. 5. On near abowt the K. and whome hee useth familiarly (though otherwise of noe great account for publique matter), after a good large cup taken in, told me in myne ear, sitting by him, that I should hear of an other alteration shortly of the noble men abowt the K. *These may make soom doubt and suspition of the K. reclining towards that state whearin thinges wear before. But it is to bee thought verily that his respects towards England will keep him in the same tenour hee is now, in case hee perceyve a dislyke hear still of Arran's restoaring,* etc., *a favour towards the other LL.*

II. The Nobilitie's Disposition.

1. English Part.—The Earles Anguse and Marr, Earle of Glencarn, LL. Hamiltons, Mr. Glames, in pretence, Mr. Grey. The EE. Anguse and Marr, besyde soom doubt of the Kinge's favour towards them, seem to bee of no great authoritie, save with their own clients and followers; for that they ar supposed to have delt very slightly and negligently in their late action, and not to have perfourmed their promise, nor answeared the expectation conceived of them for the sound refourming of religion, and thinges abowt the King, but omitting the opportunitie of strengthning the better part, and weakning the woorse, retired them selves to their particulars, as content with their

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restitution to their own privat; and this is the common talk among the better and more religious sort, tending altogither to the dislyking of them and their dooings, insomuch that (as it is sayed) if they wear again to coom in, scarse a man would put foorth his hand to byd them wellcoom. The adverse part seem, for the same cause, not only to hate them, but to contemn them, imputing this their remisse or gentle dealing to lack of courage and wisdoom. Divers of the noblemen that took part with them in their late action are now in driness, or quarrell with them, as Earle Bothwell with the E. Marre, abowt a part taking with his brother-in-law, for which hee threatneth to have his lyfe, and useth to say now that Arran and his part was far better than they. Maxwell, that sought only revenge upon Arran, is grieved at the E. Anguse, about the title of Mourton, which was evicted from him by the E. Anguse since his restoaring.

The *Mr. Grey*, sure to England, well beloved, and followed of the active and militarie sort, of very good and great parts, and thearefore to bee confirmed by all good means, specially in respect to the motives that carried him to the English part; heed to be taken that no dishonour nor contumelie bee offred him, as the late varieing about his employment into Flaunders was like to be construed. If hee could bee so wrought hear and in Flaunders, that his favour and offices toward England might stand upon a religious ground, as they doe upon honour, it wear better for him self, and surer for hir majestie.

L. Cloyd, for many causes, may be suspected, though hee bee English in pretence. The secreat conference hee was sayed to have with the French ambassadour the time of his beeing thear, and with that part which make reckoning of him as their own. His behaviour and countenance towards the English ambassadour and his company, which, though it had soom shew and collour of friendship sett upon it, yet, by divers signes, might easily appear that it was nothing but counterfait and forced. The course of his life past, which, by report of their stoary, etc., seemeth to have been ambitious, cruell, dissembling, etc.; as having this scope to trouble the state thear, so muche as might bee for soom consequence that might fall owt to the howse of Hamiltons.

His want and nead, which not beeing supplied by soom pension, etc., out of England (as divers of them looked for, and would plainly and openly speak of), might the rather move him to tourn his hope toward Fraunce for soomthing thence, as it seemeth he hath doon.

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His brother, Lord Hamilton, sheweth friendly; and beeing of an honest and religious disposition (as the better sort report of him), it may bee thought hee meaneth soundly. The Mr. Glammes pretendeth well, but is familiar with the neutrall part, namely, with the Secretarie; byside, the shew and apparaunce of his friendship beareth no lyfe in it, but a sadness and driness, which may argue soom double and doubtful meaning.

. *The English part seemeth but small and weak, but strengthened at this tyme by the K. favour and disposition toward England.*

2. FRENCH PART.—*E. Huntly, Sutherland, Cathnesse; L. Flemming, Seeton, Maxwell, etc., of the Popish faction.*—Though presently quiet, for that soom of them ar but young, and Fraunce in state as it is, yet seemeth to bee strong and apt inough to move, when they gitt opportunitie to trouble the peace and amitie with England. In that respect not unlykely to joign with Arran, who is sayed to have solicited divers of them toward the north, having also favourers in the south, and is now towards Fraunce, as may seem, upon soom compact and confederacie, to resume that course with them, in the mean while having layed things a ripening at ho[me] against a good time. *It would m*[ake] [th]*inges surer thear, if he wear intercepted.*

3. NEUTRAL.—*Secretarie Matelan, and soom other that looked for pension and reward owt of England of late, and wear disappointed, as Justice-Clerk, Gl. etc., with those that wear neutral in religion and parts before, as E. Errol, Orkney, Montrose, Bothwell, L. Hay, etc.* Whearof soom deal not in matters at all, but sail still with the wynd. Soom (*as the Secretarie*) perswade a middle course, not to ioign with Fraunce, etc. (for that they will seem to have soom regard of religion, and conceive no great hope out of Fraunce), nor yet to follow England, or depend on favour thence, but to ioign with soom Protestant prince of good power in sure league, viz., by marriage, as well to relieve the Kinge's present want by dowrie as to strengthen him hearafter in the action of his claim to England, etc., and so to hold farre of, that England may rather seek and follow them then they England. *This is thought by soom to bee the special end of the ambassage* into Denmark, under pretence of the matter of the Orcades.

III. THE COMMONS' DISPOSITION.

The religious part follow England. That number seemeth not great, specially after so long preaching the Ghospel and the use of discipline. The

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causes—1. *The licence and disorder of most part of the nobilitie, that can bear no yoak, and draw their followers, clients, etc. after them by their example.* 2. *Their often mutinies and disturbances, that dissolve all order, ecclesticall and civil. The best affected ar of Edenborough, and soom of the greater townes in the south part. The rest of the common sort follow the faction, and their Lord's part, etc.*

Indorsed by Mr Thomas Randolph—The Present State of Scotlande, 1586.

IX.—All the Earles of Scotland, with their Surnames and Years, by estimation, for present living, anno 1586.

1586. S.P.O. vol. xli. No. 96.

	Male contents.	Surnames.	Years.
M.	Duke of Lennox,	a Stuard,	xiii.
A.	Earle of Anguishe,	a Douglasse,	xxvi.
M.	Earle of Crawford,	a Lindsey,	xxvi.
Do.	Earle of Castells,	a Kennet,	x.
M.	Earle of Eglenton,	a Montgombraye,	xxiiii.
M.	Earle of Huntley,	a Gordon,	xxvi.
Do.	Earle of Argyle,	a Camill,	xii.
A.	Earle of Bothwell,	a Stuard,	xxiiii.
M.	Earle of Glencarne,	a Connenghame,	xxxv.
Do.	Earle of Atholl,	a Stuard,	xxiv.
M.	Earle of Murrey,	a Stuard,	xxiiii.
M.	Earle of Rothose,	a Lisley,	lx.
M.	Earle of Mountrosse,	a Greame,	lx.
M.	Earle of Mountiche,	a Greame,	lx.
M.	Earle of Sutherland,	a Gordon,	xxxii.
M.	Earle of Cathenes,	a Sincklerey,	xx.
A.	Earle of Marre,	a Earsken,	xxiiii.
Do.	Earle of Marchall,	a Keithe,	xxxvi.
Do.	Earle of Morton,	a Maxwell,	xxxvi.
M.	Earle of Arrell,	a Hey,	xxx.
M.	Earle of Orkney,	a Stuard,	lv.

who is base son to King James the Fifth.

13. 5. 3. Earle of March, a Stuard, lxx.

who is brother to the King's grandsire, the Earle of Lennox, that was slaine at Sterlinge, whose wife Captaine James Stuard, that late was Earle of Arran,

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and now discoorted, hath married, his wife, by whom he hath many children.

Do. The Lord of Arbroth, a Hamelton, lx.
who is Duke Chateleroiz, eldest son, next to the Earle of Arran, his brother, yet liveing, being lunaticke; so that Captain James Stuard, that late was Earle of Arran, and now discoorted, was but an usurper.

M. The Lord Gloyde [Claude], a Hamilton, xlii.
younger brother to the Lord of Arbroth.

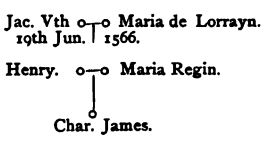
Indorsed—All the Earles of Scotland, with their surnames and years, in anno 1586.

X.—A Note of the Especiall Particularities concerning the Present Estate of the Nobility here in Scotland (with Genealogical Notices by Lord Burghley).

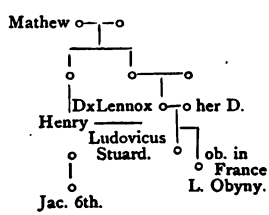
April 10, 1589. S.P.O. vol. xliii. No. 53.

ERLES.

1. CHARLES JAMES STUART, K. of Scotland, borne in the Castle of Edenburgh, the xix^th^ of June 1566. His father, the L. Henry, L. Darnly, D. of Albany, E. of Rosse, sonne and heire to the E. of Lennos. His mother, the La. Mary Stuart, Q. of Scots, daughter by K. James the V^th^, by his second wife, the Lady Mary of Lorraine.



2. D. OF LENNOX, Ludovic Stuart, of the age of xv^ten^ years. His father, first L. Obony, by marriage in France, and after created E. of Lennos by K. James the VI^th^. His grandfather was second brother to Mathew E. of Lennos. So this D. to this K. cosen once removed. His Ma^ty^ hath geven him, besides his father's Dukedome, the Baronry of Methfan, since the decease of the late L. Meffan. His chiefe demeanes belonginge to the duchie ar in Lennos, to the barony of Methfan in Perthshire. His yonger brother, brought up in France, to enioy the Baronie of Obonie there. His eldest sister, lately bestowed in marriage by the K. upon the E. Huntley, with the Abbacie of Donformline for her dowrey.



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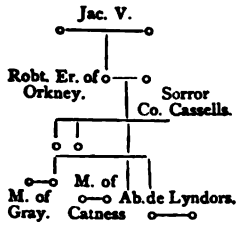
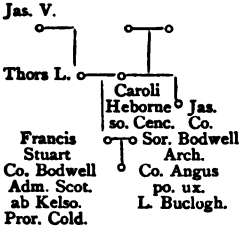
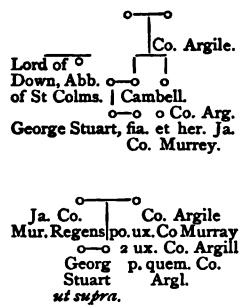
3. E. OF ORKNEY and L. of Shettland, Robert Stuart, *vulgo*, the L. Robert, of 60 years, base sonne to K. James the V^th^. His wife, a Kennetie, sister to the E. of Cassills. His sonne and heir of xx^tie^ years. His second sonne Commendator of Whitthern. Three of his daughters maried, one to the M^r^ of Grey, another to the M^r^ of Cathnes, the Erl's brother, the third to the Abbote of Lindorse, the E. of Rothesse second sonne. His livinge in the Yles of Orkney and Shetland.



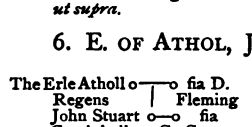
4. E. BODWELL, L. Admirall of Scotland, great M^r^ of the Horse, Sherif of Lowdian, Provost of Hadinton, Abbot of Kelsie, Prior of Coldingham, Lord of Liddisdale, etc., Francis Stuart, of 26 years. His father, John, L. of Coldingham, base sonne to K. James the V^th^. His mother, a Heburne, sister and heire to James late E. Boduel. His wife, a Duglas, sister to the late E. of Angus, before widow to the old Lard of Bockclughe, and mother to this Lard now livinge. His sonne and heire of v years. His lands lie aunswerable to his stiles.



5. E. OF MORRAY, George Stuart, of xxi^tie^ years. His father, the Lord of Downe and Abbot of St Colms. His mother, a Cambel, sister to the old E. of Argile, and this Erl's aunte. His wife, a Stuart, daughter and heire to the old E. of Murry (late Regent, and base sonne of K. James the V^th^, and sister by the mother's side to this E. of Argile, her mother being first Countesse of Murry, and after of Argile, so him selfe cosen germane (his wife halfe sister to this E. of Argile). His sonne and heire of two years. His lands in Murrey.



6. E. OF ATHOL, Jo. Stuart, of 26 years. His father, John E. of Athol, sometimes Regent. His mother, daughter to the L. Fleming, by a base sister of K. James the V^th^, before Countesse of Montrosse, and mother to this E. of Montrosse now living. His wife, daughter to the late E. of Gowry, and sister to this yonge Erle. His children



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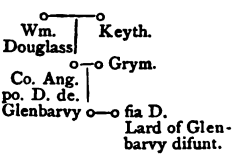
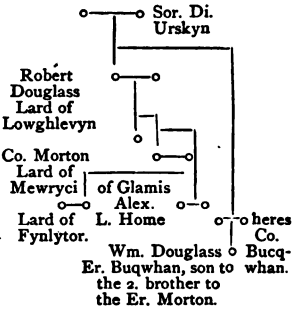
yonge and many. His lands in Athol, Perthshire, and Strath-erne.

7. E. OF ANGUS, Wm. Duglas, late Lard of Glenbarvie, of lx. years. His mother, a Keith. His wife, a Grime, of the Larde of Morphie's house. His eldest sonne, the yonge Lard of Glenbarvie, a Catholique, maried to the Lord Oliphant's daughter. His lands in Anguse and Marre.

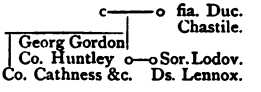


8. E. OF MURTON, Robert Duglas, late Lard of Loughlevine, of 50 years. His mother, a Herskin, sister to the old E. of Marre, sometimes Regent. His wife, a Lesly, sister to the E. of Rothes. His eldest sonne, first husband to the late Countesse of Angus, died in the hand of the Dunkirkers. His heire now living, the Lard of Niewri, maryed the L. of Glames his sister. His daughters maried, one to the M^r of Glams; one, first to the M^r of Oliphant, and now, since his death, to the L. Hume; another to the Lard of Finlitor, and other, unmarried. His living in Fife, Tuedale, Nidisdale, Daketh.

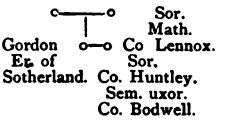


9. E. OF BUQHUN, N. Duglas, of xv^ten years. His father, yonger brother to this E. Murton. His mother, a Stuart, heire to M. Stuart, late E. of Buqhuane. His lands in Buqhane and Merins.

10. E. HUNTLEY, Lieutenant to his ma^tie in the north, Abbote of Donfermline, and lately Cap^ten of the Guarde, George Gourdon, of 28 years. His mother, daughter to D. Hamilton, and sister to the L. Jo. and Claude. She deceased distraught. His wife, sister to the D. of Lennox, presently great with childe. His brother of 23 years. His sister maried to the E. of Cathnesse. His lands in Loqhuaber, Bayedenoch, Straboggy, Boggigicht, Ainya, Morray, Fife, and som in Argile.



11. E. OF SOTHERLAND, N. Gordon, of 32 years. His mother, sister to the E. of Lennos. His wife, a Gordon, sister to the old E. Huntly, this man's aunte, before devorced from the old E. Bodwell. His children many. His lands in Sotherland and Murray.



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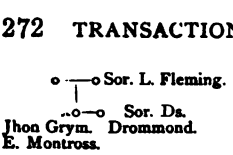
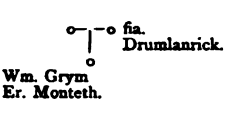
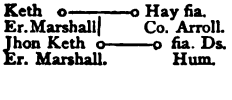


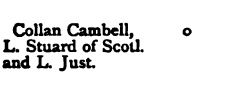
12. E. OF MONTROSSE, Jo. Grime, of 40 years. His mother, sister to the L. Fleminge, this L. Fleming's grandfather, and after Countes of Athol, mother to this E. Athol. His wife, sister to the L. Dromunde. His heire under age. His daughter maried to the L. Fleming now living. His lands in Stirlinshire, Stratherne, and Perthshire.



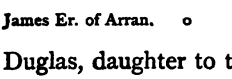
13. E. OF MONTEITH, N. Grime, of 14 years. His mother, a Duglas, daughter to the Lard of Dumblanereke. First maried to the L. Sanqhar, by whom she had this yonge L. Sanqhar, now living, and after Countesse of Monteith. His livinge in Monteith.



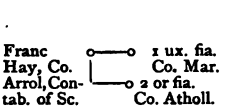
14. E. MARSHALL, Jo. Keth, of 34 years. His mother, a Hay of th' E. Erroll's house. His wife, halfe sister to the L. Hume now livinge, and daughter to th' old L. Hume by his second wife, the Lard of Sesford's daughter. His children but two, and they very yonge. His lands in Angus, Mernis, and Buqhan.



15. E. OF ARGILE, Colen Cambell, of 14 years. His mother, a Keith, aunte to this E. Marshall, Countesse, first of Murray, and after of Argile. He is, by inheritance, L. Chiefe Justice and L. High Steward of Scotland, Commander of Lorna, and all the West Yles. His lands dispersed in Argile, Sterlinshire, Lowdian, etc.



16. E. OF ARREN, Jan. Hamilton, of 57 years. His father, the D. Hamilton. His mother, a Duglas, daughter to th' old E. Murton. Himself lunaticke, and therfor his living disposed by his next brother, the L. Jo. Hamilton, Abbot of Arbroth. His third brother, the L. Claud, Abbote of Passely. His 4th brother, Davy, lunaticke, like himselfe. His sister, mother to this E. Huntly, died in the like case. His living in Clyddesdale and the Isle of Arren.



17. E. OF ERROL, Frauncis Hay, of 26 years, now widower. Third sonne to the late E., but preferred before his elder brethren, in respect of their naturall infirmitie, being both deafe and dumbe. His first wife was a Stuart, younger daughter to the E. of Murray, Regent; the second, a Stuart, sister to the E. of Athol. He is, by inheritance, Constable of Scotland. His living in Mernis and Gowry.

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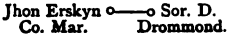
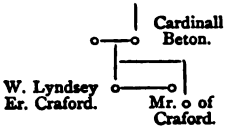
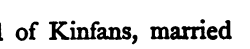
18. E. OF MARRE, Jo. Erskin, of 26 years, now widower. His wife was sister to the L. Dromond, who bare him his heire, of 5 or 6 years. His lands in Sterlinshire, Tiffedale, Tuedale, Marche, Mernis, and Marre.



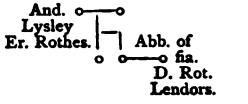
19. E. OF CRAWFORTH, N. Lindsay, of 31 years. His mother, a Beton, base daughter to the Cardinall. His first wife was sister to the L. Dromond. His second wife, sister to the E. of Atholl. His children legitimate, 2. His next brother, late M^r of Crawforth, and Lard of Kinfans, married Sir Jo. Chesholm's sister. His livinge in Angus and Fife.



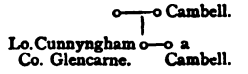
20. E. OF GOWREY, N. Ruthven, of 10 years. His father beheaded. His elder brother, late Erle, deceased in September last, at the age of xiii^ten years. His mother, a Stuart, daughter to the L. Methfan. His living in Perthshire, Stratherne, and Gourey.



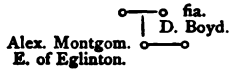
21. E. OF ROTHES, Andrew Lasley, of 60 years. His first wife a Hamilton; his second a Ruthven, aunte to this E. Gowry. His second sonne, Abbot of Lindorse, maried to one of th' E. of Orkney's daughters. His lands in Fife.



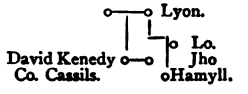
22. E. OF GLENCARNE, Jo. Cuningham, of 36 years. His mother a Cambel of the E. of Argile's house. His wife a Cambel of the Lard of Glen Norqhuart's house. His livinge in Cunningham, Lennox, and elsewhere in the west.



23. E. OF EGLINTON, Alexander Montgomery, of vi or vii years. His father slaine by the Cuninghams of Glencarne, at the age of two or thre and twenty, about thre years since. His mother daughter of the L. Boyde. His land in Carickte.



24. E. OF CASSILS, Davy Kennetie, of xiiii^ten yeares. His mother a Lion, sister to the late L. of Glams, and aunte to thes yonge Lord now livinge. She was first Countesse of Cassils, and now maried to L. Jo. Hamilton, to whom she hath lately borne a sonne and heire. His livinge in Coyle and Carickte.



25. E. OF CATHNESSE, N. Sinklar, of xxiii^tie yeares. His mother a

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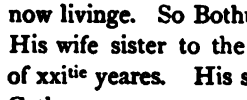
Heburne, sister to the E. Bothuell, and mother to this E. Bodwell now livinge. So Bothuell and Cathnesse brothers by the mother side. His wife sister to the E. Huntley. The M^r of Cathnes, his brother, of xxi^tie yeares. His sonne and heire of 3 or 4 yeares. His lands in Cathnes.

Lordes Barons.

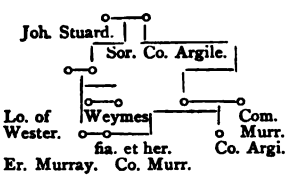
1. The L. Jo. Hamilton, Abbot of Arbroth, of liiii yeares. His wife a Lyon, sister to the late L. Glams, first maried to the E. of Cassils, to whom she bare this yonge Erle of Cassils, and since to this L. Jo. Hamilton, to whom also she hath lately borne a sonne and heire. His lands in Clydesdale and Angus.



2. L. Claude Hamilton, Abbot of Passely, of 52 yeares. His wife sister to this L. Seton, by whom he hath many children. His livinge in Clydesdale.

3. L. of Avendale, S^r Jam. Hamilton, of 64 years. His wife a Cuningham of the Lard of Caprinton's house. His sonne and heir, S^r James Hamilton, of 27 years, maried a Cambell, daughter to the Sheriff of Aire.

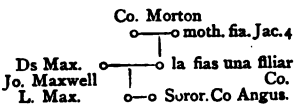
4. L. of Downe, Jo. Stuart, of 60 yeares, Abbot of St Colms. His wife sister to the late E. of Argile, this Erle's aunte. The same Erle, having maried the Countesse of Murry, caused her to bestow her daughter (and heire to her first husband) upon his nephue, the L. of Down's eldest sonne, who in her righte is now E. of Murry. His daughter maried to the Lard of Wester Wimes. His lands in Sterlinshire.



5. L. Invermeith, N. Stuart, of 31 yeares. His mother a Beton, daughter to the Larde of Creiche. His wife a Lindsy, sister to the Knight of Egall, by whom he hath 3 or 4 children. His lands in Anguse, Perthshire, and Stratherne.

6. L. Okletre, N. Stuart, of 68 yeares. Father to Captaine James Stuart, somtime usurper of th' Erldome of Arren, &c.

7. L. Maxwell, Jo. Maxwell, of 34 yeares, pretendeth title to the Erldome of Murton, in right of his mother, which was eldeste daughter of the old E. Murton, by a base sister of K. James the V^th's. His wife sister to the late E. Angus. His sonne and



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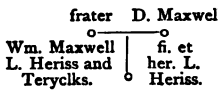
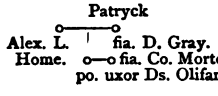
heire of 3 yeares. His lands in Nidisdale, Annandale, Galloway, etc.

8. L. HERIS and L. Terikles, N. Maxwell, of 26 yeares. His father was brother to the old E. Maxwell, so he cosen germaine to the L. Maxwell now livinge. His mother was the heretrix to the old L. Heris, in whose right he holdeth that Barony. His livinge in Nidisdale and Galloway.



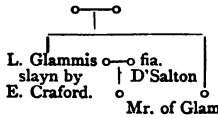
9. L. HUME, Alex^dr Hume, of 25 yeares, L. Warden of the East Marches. His mother sister to the L. Grey. His wife daughter to this E. Murton, before Mistres of Oliphant. His landes in the Marche and Lowditon.



10. L. LOVAITE, N. Frizell, of 21 yeares, Cheife of the Clan Kimhies, in Rosse and Sutherlande. His mother a Stuart, sister to the E. Athol, after maried to the E. of Marche, and last of all to Cap^ten James Stuart, who presently enioyeth her.

11. L. FORBOSE of that Ilke, of 65 yeares. His wife a Keith, one of the heires of Enderugie. The M^r of Forbose, his heire, of 50, maried first a Gordon, aunte to this E. Huntley, and after her divorcement he toke for second wife a Seton, wife to the old Justice Clark, this Justice Clarke's stepdame. The yonge M^r, this man's sonne, of 26 years, a servitour of the Duke of Parma.

12. L. OF GLAMMIS, N. Lyon, of xi. yeares. His father slaine by the E. of Craforth's followers. His tuttor, the M^r of Glammis, his father's brother. His mother an Abernethie, daughter to the Lorde Salton. His livinge in Angus and Mernis.



13. L. DROMUND of that Ilke, of about 40 yeares. His mother sister to the L. Ruthven, this yonge E. Gourie's grandfather. His first wife a Lindsie, daughter to the Knight of Egall. She bare him the M^r and all his barns. His second wife was before Countesse of Eglinton, mother of the late E. Eglinton, this man's father, and to the Lady Seton and the La. Semple now livinge. His landes in Perthshire and Stratherne.

14. L. OLIPHANT of that Ilke, of 60 yeares. His mother sister to the E. of Lennox, who after was Countesse of Sotherland, and mother to this E. of Sotherland. His wife a Hay, aunte to the E. of Erroll.

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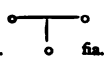
His eldest son, the M^r of Oliphant, perished in the hands of the Dunkirkers, leavinge behind him his Lady, daughter to this E. of Murton, and now Lady Hume, and sonne and heire, to inherite the Barony of Oliphant after the old Lord's decease. His daughter maried to the yonge Lard of Glenbarvy. His livinge in Perthshire and Stratherne.

15. L. LINDSIE of that Ilke, of 68 yeares. His mother a Stuart, aunte to this E. Athol. His wife a Duglas, sister to this E. of Murton. She bare him, before her death, the M^r of Lindsie, and two or three other children. His lands in Fife.



16. L. SINKLAR of that Ilke, of 61 yeares. His mother a Keithe, greate aunte to this E. Marshall. She was before Lady Dromund, and bare this L. Dromonde's father. His first wife, that bare him his three eldest sons, was sister to the L. Lindsay. His second, she was daughter to the Lord Forbose, by whom he hath also many children. His livinge in Fyfe.

17. L. SEMPLE of that Ilke, of about 18 yeares. His wife sister to the late E. Eglinton, this man's father, and to the Lady Seton. His father's base brother, Coronel Semple. His living farre west.

18. L. LEVISTON of that Ilke, of 59 yeares. His wife a Flemynge. His children many. The M^r of Leveston maried a sister of th' E. of Athol's, and hath by her many barns. His livinge in Sterlingshire and about Lithquo.

19. L. OGLEBY of that Ilke, of 48 yeares. His wife daughter to the L. Forbose. His children many. The M^r of Ogleby, his sonne, married this E. Gowrey's sister. His landes in Angus.

20. L. SANQHAR AND CRIGHTON, N. Crighton, of 20 yeares. His mother a Duglas, daughter to the Lard of Drumlanerike, who was after Countesse of Monteith, and mother to this E. Monteith. So he halfe brother to the said Erle. His lands in Nidisdale and Galloway.

21. L. SALTON, N. Abernethie, of 28 yeares. His mother a Keithe, aunte to this E. Marshall. His wife a Stuart, halfe sister to the E. of Athol. His sonne and heire of 12 yeares. His livinge in Straboggy, Buqhuane, and much elsewhere.

22. L. ELPHINSTON of that Ilke, depends on the E. of Marre. His mother an Erskin of that house. His yeares about xxix. His livinge in Stirlingshire.

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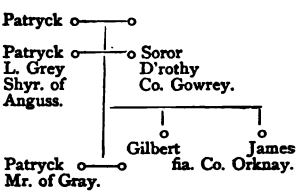
23. L. GREY of that Ilke, of 49 yeares. His wife sister to the old E. Gowrey. The M^r of Grey, his sonne and heire, of 29 yeares, married the E. of Orkney's daughter. He is by inheritance the Sheriff of Anguse.



24. L. BOIDE of that Ilke, of 60 odd yeares. His second sonne, Lard of Banneith. His daughters maried, one to the E. of Eglinton, this Erle's mother, another to the Lard of Lusse. His landes in Cuningham.

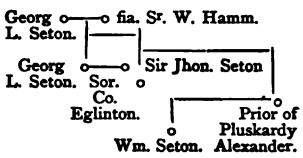
25. L. SOMERVAILLS of that Ilke, of 50 yeares. The M^r of Somervaills, his sonne, of 26. His livinge in Clydesdale.

26. L. CATHCARTE of that Ilke, of 52 yeares. The M^r, his sonne, of 27. His landes in Clydesdale.

27. L. ROSSE, N. Hauket, of 22 yeares. His mother a Semple, sister to the L. Semple. His wife a Hamilton. His landes in Clydesdale.

28. L. CARLIEL, N. Duglas, of 30 yeares. His mother a Duglas, of the house of Parkeheade, in Clydesdale. His wife a Carliel, heretrix to the late L. Carlile of that Ilke. His living in Annandale.

29. L. SETON of that Ilke, of 30 yeares. His mother a Cuningham of the Lard of Caprinton's house. His wife a Montgomery, sister to the late E. of Eglinton and to the Lady Semple. His sonne and heire of 14 yeares. His livinge in Lowdian and Lithquo.



30. L. FLEMINGE of that Ilke, of 22 yeares. His wife a Greme, daughter to this Erle of Montrose. His livinge lies in Tuedale and upon Clyde. He is by inheritance L. Chamberlaine of Scotland.

31. L. YEASTER, N. Hay, of 30 yeares. His mother a Carre, sister to th' old Lorde of Fernherst. His wife a Maxwell, sister to the L. Heris. His sonne and heire of x years. His livinge in Lowdian and Tiffedale.

32. L. BORTHWICKE of that Ilke, of 21 years. His mother a Scot, aunte to the Lard of Bockclughe. His wife sister to the L. Yeaster. His livinge in Lowdian.

33. L. ABTREY AND LORD ABBOT OF DERE, N. Keith, of 60 yeares, uncle to the E. Marshall. His wife a Lundy, farre northe. His

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eldest daughter married to a Hay of great power in the north. His landes in Buqhane.

Indorsed—The Nobillitie in Scotland, 10th April 1589.

1589 (?) S.P.O. vol. xliv. No. 105.

XI.—The Names of such Scottish Men and Women as receive Pension of the King of Spayne.

Francis Stewart, Earle Bothwell, . . .	300d* monthly.
The Earle of Pearth, as it is informed, . .	300d
Mr George Carre, ...	100d
Mr Andrew Clarke, ...	40d
Adam Cumming, ...	30d
S^r^ James Lynsey, in sutes for Mr Curle of Edenbrough, ...	40d
His wife, Geils Moobray, ...	30d
Jane Moobray, her sister, ...	30d
Mrs Woodderspon, ...	30d
Mr Patrick Steward, nowheere with the E. Bothwell, received for an ayuda de Costa, . .	100d
The Layrds of Farnyhurst, elder and yonger, received for an ayuda de Costa, . .	200d
They are gone out of Spayne with intention to retourne agayne.	
Coronell Symple, liuing in Flanders, . .	100d
Coronell Paton, liuing in Flanders, . .	100d

Indorsed—Scottish Men and Women Pensioners to the K. of Spayne.

1591. S.P.O. vol. xlvii. No. 130.

XII.—Names of "the Papists and Discontented Earls and Lords of Scotland," and of "the Protestants and well affected to the Course of England."

The Papists and discontented Erles and Lordes :—

The D. of Lennox.	The L. Maxwell.
The E. Huntley.	Cl. Hamilton.
E. Montrosse.	L. Seton.
E. Arroll.	L. Hume.

* "D," Spanish ducats.

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E. Crawforth.
E. Bothwell.
E. Catnes.
E. Atholl.
E. Sotherland.
E. Murray.

L. Gray.
L. Levyston. 16

The Protestantes and well affected to the course of England:—

The L. Chauncellor.
The E. of Marre.
The L. Jo. Hamilton.
The E. of Anguish.
The E. of Murton.
The E. of Rothusse.
The E. Marshall.
The Mr of Glammes. 8

Many Barons and Burough Townes very well affected in religion.

Indorsed—Nobility of Scotland.
Papistes.
Protestantes.

XIII.—The Present State of the Nobilitie in Scotland, the first of July 1592.

1592. July 1. S.P.O. vol. xlviii. No. 62.

Erles.	Surnaymes.	Religion.	Their Ages.
Duke of Lennox,	Stewart	Pro.	Of xx yeres; his mother, a Frenche woman; maried the third daughter of the late Earle of Gowry; she is dead; his house, Castle of Methwen.
Arrane	Hamilton . . .	Pro.	Of about 54 yeres; his mother, Douglas, doughter to th' Erle of Mortoun, who was Erle before James the Regent; his house, Hamilton; and maried this L. Glames' aunte.

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Erles.	Surnaymes.	Religion.	Their Ages.
Angusse	Douglasse . . .	Doubtful .	Of 42 yeres; his mother, Grame, doughter to the Lard of Morphy; maried th' eldest doughter of the L. Oliphant; his house, Tomtallon.
Huntlay . . .	Seaton / Gordon	Pa.	Of 33 yeres; his mother, doughter to Duke Hamilton; maried the now Duke of Lenox sister; his house, Strabogge.
Argile	Cambell	Younge . .	Of 17 yeres; his mother, sister to th' Erle Marshal, this Erle's father; not yet maried; his house, Dynnvne.
Atholl	Stewart	Protest. . .	Of xxxii yeres; his mother, doughter to the L. Fleming; maried this Erle of Gowrie's sister; his house, Dunkell.
Murray	Stewart	Young . .	Of x yeres; his mother, doughter to th' Erle of Murray, Regent, by whom this Erle's father (slaine by Huntlay) had that Erldome; not maried; his house, Tarnewaye.
Crawford	Lyndsay	Papist . . .	Of 35 yeres; his mother, doughter to th' Erle Marshall; maried first the L. Drummonde's doughter, and now th' Erle of Atholl's sister; his house, Fineaven.

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Erles.	Surnaymes.	Religion.	Their Ages.
Arrell	Hay	Papist . . .	Of xxxi yeres; his mother, Keith, doughter to th' Erle Marshall; maried first the Regent Muraie's doughter, next Atholl's sister, and now hath to wife Morton's doughter; his house, Slamone.
Murton	Douglasse . . .	Protest. . .	Of 66 yeres; his mother, Erskyn, doughter to the L. Erskin; maried to the sister of th' Erle of Rothus; his house, Dalkeithe.
Marshall	Keithe	Protest. . .	Of 38 yeres; his mother, doughter to th' Erle of Arrell; maried this L. Hume's sister; his house, Danotter.
Casills	Kennedy	Young . .	Of 17 yeres; his mother, Lyon, aunt to this L. Glames, and who now is the L. Jo. Hamilton's wife; not maried.
Eglinton	Montgomery . .	Young . .	Of 8 yeres; his mother, Kenedy, doughter to the Lard of Barganie; unmaried.
Glencarne . . .	Cuningham . .	Protest. . .	Of 40 yeres; his mother, Gordon of Loughenvarre; maried the Lard of Glenvrquhen's doughter, Gordon; his house, Glencarne.
Montrosse . . .	Grame	Pap.	Of 49 yeres; his mother, doughter of the L. Fleming; married the L. Drummonde's sister;

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Erles.	Surnaymes.	Religion.	Their Ages.
			auld Montrosse in Angusse.
Menteithe . . .	Grame	Younge . .	Of 19 yeres; his mother, doughter to th' old Lard of Drumlanrig; maried to Glenvrquhen's doughter; Kylbryde.
Rothes	Leslee	Pro.	Of 65 yeres; his mother, Somervile; maried first the sister of S[r] James Hamilton, and then the sister of the L. Ruthven; Castle of Lesle.
Cathnes	Sinckler	Neut. . . .	Of 26 yeres; his mother, Hebburne, sister to Bothwell that died in Denmark; maried this Huntlaie's sister; Tnugesberg (? bey).
Sutherland . . .	Gordon	Neutr. . . .	Of 36 yeres; his mother, sister to the Regent, Erle of Lenox; maried the Earle of Huntlaie's sister, this Erle's aunt; his house, Dunrowyn.
Bothwell	Stewart	Pro.	Of 30 yeres; his mother, Hebburne, sister to the late Erle Bothwell; maried the sister of Archibald Erle of Angusse; he standes now foralted; Crighton.
Buchane	Douglas	Younge . .	Of xi yeres; his mother, Stewart, heritrix of Buckane; unmaried.*

* In pages 335, 336, I find a few corrections were overlooked, viz., Dunotter, Drumlanrig, Glenurquhey, Tungesby, Dunrobyn, forfalted.

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Erles.	Surnaymes.	Religion.	Their Ages.
Marre	Erskin	Protest. . .	Of 31 yeres; his mother, Murray, sister to the Lard of Tullybarden; a wedower; his house, Allowaye.
Orkney	Stewart	Neutr. . .	Of 63 yeres; base sonne of K. James the Fift; his mother, Elphingston; maried to th' Erle of Cassell's doughter.
Gowry	Ruthuen	Younge . .	Of 15 yeres; his mother, sister to umqle L. Methwen; unmaried; Ruthwen.

Lords or Barons.

Lords.	Surnaymes.	Religion.	Their Ages.
Lyndsay	Lyndsay	Prot. . . .	Of 38 yeres; his mother, sister to the Lard of Loughleaven; maried th' Erle of Rothhouse' doughter; his house, Byers.
Seaton	Seaton	Pa.[5]	Of 40 yeres; his mother, doughter to Sr Wm. Hamilton; his wife is Montgomery, th' Erle's ante; his house, Seaton.
Borthwick . . .	Borth.	Prot. . . .	Of 22 yeres; his mother, doughter of Buccleughe; his wife, the L. Yester's doughter; Borthick.
Yester	Haye	Prot. . . .	Of 28 yeres; his mother, Carr of Pherniherst; his wife, doughter of the L. of Newbottle; Neidpath.

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Lords.	Surnaymes.	Religion.[6]	Their Ages.
Levingston . .	Leving.	Pa.	Of 61 yeres; his mother, doughter of vmqhile Erle of Morton; his wife, the L. Fleminge's, sister; Calendarre.
Elphingston . .	Elp.	Neut. . . .	Of 63 yeres; his mother, Erskyn; his wife, the doughter of Sr Jo. Drummond; Elphinston.
Boyde	Boyde	Pro.	Of 46 yeres; his mother, Collquhen; his wife, the Sherif of Aire's doughter; Kilmarnock.
Sempell	Sympill.	Pro.	Of 29 yeres; his mother, Preston; his wife, doughter of th' Erle of Eglinton; Sempell.
Rosse	Ros	Pro.	Of 30 yeres; his mother, the L. Sempill's doughter; his wife is Gawen Hamilton's doughter.
Ochiltre	Stewart.	Pr.	Of 32 yeres; his mother, sister to the L. Methuen; his wife, Kenedy, the doughter of the Lard of Blawquhen; Ochiltre.
Cathcart	Cathcart	Pr.	Of 55 yeres; his mother, Simpill; his wife, Wallace, the doughter of the Lard of Cragy-Wallace; Cathcart.
Maxwell	Maxw.	Pa.[7]	Of 41 yeres; his mother, doughter to th' Erle of Morton, that preceded the Regent; his wife, Douglasse, sister to th' Erle of Angusse.

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Lords.	Surnaymes.	Religion.	Their Ages.
Harris	Maxwell	Pa.[8]	Of 37 yeres; his mother, Harris, by whom he had the Lordship; his wife is the sister of Newbottle; his house, Tiragles.
Sanquhare . . .	Crighton	Pa.[9]	Of 24 yeres; his mother, doughter of Drumlangrig; unmaried; his house, Sanquhar.
Sommervele . .	Somervile . . .	Prot.	Of 45 yeres; his mother, sister to Sr James Hamilton; his wife, sister to the L. Seaton; Carnweth.
Drummond . .	Drummond . .	Pr.	Of 41 yeres; his mother, doughter to the L. Ruthuen; his wife, Lyndsay, doughter of the Lard of Edzell; Drummond.
Oliphant	Oliphant	Prot. . . .	Of 65 yeres; his mother, Sandelandes; his wife is Arrell's sister; Dippline.
Gray	Gray	Pap.[10]	Of 54 yeres; his mother, the L. Ogilvie's doughter; his wife, the L. Ruthen's sister; Fowles.
Glames	Lyon	Younge . .	Of 17 yeres; his mother, sister to the L. Salton; unmaried.
Ogilvy	Ogilvy	Pap.[11] . . .	Of 51 yeres; his mother, Cambell of Caddell; his wife the L. Forbesse's doughter; no castle but the B. of Brichen's house.

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Lords.	Surnaymes.	Religion.	Their Ages.
Hume	Hume	Suspect . .	Of 27 yeres; his mother, the L. Graie's doughter; his wife th' Erle of Morton's doughter; Hume.
Fleming	Fleming	Pa.[12]	Of 25 yeres; his mother, doughter of the M[r] of Rosse; his wife th'Erle of Montrosse's doughter; Bigger.
Inuermethe . .	Stewart	Pr.	Of 30 yeres; his mother, the L. Ogilvie's doughter; his wife, Lyndsay the Lard of Edzell's doughter; Reidcastle.
Forbes	Forbesse	Pro.	Of 75 yeres; his mother, Lundie; his wife Keithe.
Salton	Abernethy . . .	Younge . .	Of 14 yeres; his mother, Atholl's sister, this Erle's aunt; Salton.
Lovatt	Frasir	Prot. . . .	Of 23 yeres; his mother, Stewart, aunt to Atholl; his wife, the Lard of Mackenze's doughter.
Sinckler	Sinckler	Pr.	Of 65 yeres; his mother, Oliphant; his wife, the L. Forbes' doughter; Ravinscrage.
Torphechin . .	Sandelandes . .	Younge . .	Of 18 yeres; his mother, doughter of the L. Rosse; his house, Calder or Torphechen.
Thirleston . . .	Mateland . . .	Prot. . . .	Of 48 yeres; maried the L. Fleminge's aunt; a new house in Lauther or Lethington.

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Howses Decaied.

Lords.	Surnaymes.	
Methwen . . .	Stewart	Decaied by want of heires, and comming to the K's handes, he hath disponit it to the Duke.
Carlile	Carlile	The male heires are decaied. There is a doughter of the Lord Carlile's maried to James Douglas of the Parkhead, who hath the lyving, but not the honours.

Lords or Barons, created of Landes appertaining to Busshopricks and Abacies.

Lords.	Surnaymes.	Religion.	Their Ages.
Altrie	Keithe	Prot. . . .	Of 63 years; his mother, Keith; his wife, Laureston. This Lordship is founded on the Abbot of Dere.
Newbottle . . .	Ker	Pro.	Of 39 yeres; his mother, th'Erle of Rothe's sister; his wife, Maxwell, sister to this L. Harris. This Lordship is founded on the Abbacie of Newbottle; his house, Morphele or Preston Grange.
Urquhard . . .	Seaton	Pa.[18]	Of 35 years; the L. Seaton's brother; his wife, the L. Drummond's doughter; founded on the Priory of Pluscardy.
Spinay	Lyndsay	Prot. . . .	Of 28 yeres; th' Erle of Crawfurde's 3d bro-

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ther; his wife, Lyon, the L. Glames' doughter. This is founded on the Bushoprick of Murray; his house is Spinay; but Huntley is heritable Constable in that house.

Indorsed by Lord Burghley—A Cataloge of the Nobilete in Scotland.

XIV. The Names and Titles of Erles and Lords of Scotland, with the Coontris wherein they live, beginning in the North, and so Southward.— (In the handwriting of Henry Lok.)

[1602.] S.P.O. (vol. lxix. No. 66.)

In the Isls of Orkney :—

1. Patrick Erle of Orkney, soon to Robert Stuart, base brother to Mary late Qwen of Scott, by Kennedy, dawghter of Gilbert, sumtims Erle of Cassils, and father to the present Erle of Cassils. This Patrick, now Erle, is married to Liuieston, sister to Alex[r] now Lord Liueston, widowe to S[r] Lewes Bellanden, late Justis Clark, a gret cownseler to the King; he hath yet no children.

In Catnes :—

2. Georg Erle of Catnes, of surname Sinclere; he maried Gorden, sister to Georg now Marqwes of Huntley, and by her hath children.

In Sotherland :—

3. John Erle of Sotherland, a Gorden by surname, soon of John by Gerden, diuorsed wife of James Heborn, soomtims Erle Bothwel and Duk of the Isles, and maried to the late Qwen of Scots, who died in Denmark. This Erle is maried to Elfeston, dafter * to the M[r] of Elfeston, yet childles.

In Strabogie-land, in Sherifdom of Aberden :—

4. Georg Erle Huntly, an adoptiue Gorden, but indede descended of one S[r] Alexander Seaton. He maried Henriot Stuard, sister to the Duk of Lenox, and hath soons and dafters.

* "Dafter," daughter; probably written as a contraction. Lok's orthography, however, in this paper is very peculiar.

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In Bowqhan :—

5. Erle of Bowqhan, Dowglas by sirname, by unmarried.

6. Fransis Hey, Erle of Aral, Constable of Scotland ; his first wife was Stuard, dafter to James Erle of Mory, and in his second mariadg to Stuard, dawghter to John Erle of Athal, and by theas no child ; sins maried Dowglas, dafter to William Erle Morton, somtims Lord of Lowghleuen, and by hir hath soons and dafters.

In Morey :—

7. James Erle Morey, a Stuard, soon to James, murdered by Huntly ; his mother, Stuard, eldest dafter to Rege[nt] Morey, by Agnes Keth, a Erle Martial's dafter ; this Erle unmaried.

In the Mearns :—

8. Erle Marsial, a Keth by sirname ; first maried to this Lord Hewm's sister, and by hir had his children ; and sins he maried this Lord Oglebe's dafter.

In Angwish :—

9. The Erle of Crawford, John Lindsey by surname, maried to Stuard, sister to the late Erle of Athal, by whom he hath soons and dafters.

10. The Erle of Mowntros, John Gream ; maried Dromownt, dafter to Dauid late Lord Dromont, and sister to the present Lord, by whom he hath soons and one dafter.

In Athal :—

11. John Stuard Erle of Athal, lately Lord of Indermeth ; maried the widoe of John late Earl of Athal, being sister to the late slain Erle of Gorey, by whom he hath children.

In Fife :—

12. Andro Erle of Rothes, Leslye by surname ; first maried to Hambelton, dafter to one Sir James Hambilton, by whom he had 8 children ; sins married Dure [Durie], dafter to the Lord of Dure, by whome also he hath children.

In Pierth :—

13. James [John] Erle of Gorey, Ruthven by surname ; his

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mother, the Lord Mefen's (a Stuard) dafter, of the hows of Ogletre; he was slain, being unmaried and childles.

In Argile:—

14. Archibald Campbel, Erle of Argile; his mother was a Stuard, Lord St Comb's dafter; he maried Dowglas, dafter to the present Erle of Morton, and hath by hir soons and dafters.

In Lenox:—

15. The Duk of Lenox, a Stuard; his mother, D'Aubeni, in Frans; himself first maried the late Erle of Gori's sister, and sins the Sherif of Eir's dafter, a Campbel by name, and hath children.

In Sterlingshir:—

16. John Erle of Mar, Erskin by sirname; first maried to Dromont, dafter to David Lord Dromont, and by hir hath soons and dafters; sins maried the Duk of Lenox sister, a Stuard.

In Mounteth:—

17. Erle of Monteth, a Greme by surname: yong; unmaried.

In Cloidisdal:—

18. John Hambelton, now Marqwes of Hambelton and Erle of Aran; maried to Lion, dafter to Lord Lion, and widow to the Erle Casels, desesed, and by her hath children.

In Lodian:—

19. William Erle of Morton, a Dowglas, sumtims Lord of Lowghleuen; maried to Leshly, dafter to the Erle of Rothos, and by hir hath many soons and dafters.

20. William Dowglas, Erle of Angwisch [Angus]; maried to Olephant, dafter to Larans late Lord Olephant, by whom he hath soons and dafters.

21. Francis Erle of Bothwel, a Stuard by sirname, soon to John Commen[dat]er of Coldingham, base soon to James the 5, by Jane Heborn, dafter and heir of Heborn Erle of Bothwel, maried to the Scots Queen, and died in Denmark. This Bothwel, maried Margaret Dowglas, dafter to Dauid Erle of Angwish, deseased, and sister to

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the Erle banisht in Ingland; she was first widow to Sir Walter Scot, and by him had the present Lord of Baclowgh, and by Francis Erle of Bothwel many soons.

In Coningham:—

22. Alexander Erle of Glankern, by surnam Coningham; he maried Campbel, dafter to Coline Cambel of Glenvrquha, and by hir soons and dafters.

23. Erle of Eglinton, by surname Mowntgomery, soon of the last Earl, by Kenety, dafter to the Lard of Barganies; is as yet unmaried.

In Carak:—

24. Kennedy, Erle of Casel; maried Jane Fleming, dafter of late Lord Fleming, and widowe to John Matelin, late Chanseler; by hir hath no children.

In Lodian:—

25. Lord Seton, Erle, newly created Erle of Winton; his mother, a ; his wife, a ; hath sundry children.

THE LORDS.

1. Hugh Froisel, Lord Louet; maried first Mackeny, dafter of Mackeny of Kantire, and by hir had children; and sins maried Stuard, dafter to James [Earl of] Morey, Regent.

2. John Lord Forbes; maried George Erle of Huntly's dafter, and by hir had soons, now Jesuits and Capusians in Flanders; after maried Seton's dafter, Lord of Touch, wedow of Sir John Balendin, Knight, and by her hath soons and dafters.

3. James Lord Ogelbe; maried Forbes, dafter to the Lord Forbes, and hath by hir soons and dafters.

4. James Lion, Lord Glames; maried Agnes Morey, dafter to the Lord of Tillibarn, and hath by hir suns and dafters.

5. The Lord of Spiney, a Lindsey, brother of Erle Crawford; maried to the widow of the banished Earl of Angwish, Archibald.

6. The Lord Gray; maried Ruthen, sister to the beheded Erle of Gorey, caled William, and by hir hath soons and dafters.

7. Lord Oliphant, in captivity; maried Dowglas, dafter to William Erle of Morton, and by hir hath soons and dafters, who sins

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is married to Lord Hume; and the supposed Erle now liuing is unmaried, and his soon.

8. Patrick Lord Dromont; maried Lindsey, dafter to the Lerd of Edzel, and by hir hath soons and dafters wherof one maried to Seton, Lord Prier of Pluskardy, Presedent of the Cownsel.

9. Alexander Lord Elpheston; maried Dromont, dafter to one Sir John Dromont, Knight, and by hir hath soons and dafters.

10. Alexander Lord Liueston; maried Elizabeth Hey, dafter to Andro Erle of Arol, and by hir hath soons and dafters.

11. Robert Lord Boid; yong; not maried.

12. James Lord Fleming; maried Gream, dafter to John Erle of Mowntros, and by hir hath soons and dafters.

13. Lord Bort[hw]ick; is yong, and not married.

14. Hey, Lord Yester; maried Ker, dafter to Mark Lerd of Newbottel, and by hir hath soons and dafters.

15. James Lord Lindsey; maried Leshly, dafter to Andro Erle of Rothos, and by hir hath soons and dafters.

16. Alexander Lord Hume; maried Dowglas, dafter to William Erle of Morton, supposed widoe of the M[r] of Olephant, now in captiuity, by whom she bare this Lord; by Hume no children.

17. Hewgh Lord Someruil.

18. The Lord Ros of Halkheid; yong; unmaried.

19. Robert Lord Simpel; unmaried.

20. Alen Lord of Cathcart; maried Kennety, dafter to the Lerd of Bargany, and by hir hath children.

21. Andro Stuart Lord Ogletre; maried Kennety, dafter to the Lerd of Blawquhn, and by hir hath children.

22. John Lord Heris, soon to Sir John Maxwel of Terreglish, Knight; maried Gorden, dafter to the Lord of Lowghenuar, and by hir hath soons and dafters.

23. John Lord Maxwel; maried Hambilton, dafter to John Lord Marqwes of Hambilton, who was slain by Johnston, and left soons and dafters, whereof the eldest now Lord, a child.

24. Abernethy Lord Salton; yong and unmaried.

25. Lord Sancher, a Crighton by sirname; unmaried.

26. Andro Ker, Lord of Roxsborg; his wife, a Metelin, dafter to the Secretary to the Late Qwen Mary of Scotland; his sister maried to the Lerd of Baclowgh.

Indorsed—Alliances of Scotland.

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XV.—A Catalogue of the Scottis Nobilitie and Officiers of the Estat. By John Colville.*

[1602] S.P.O. (vol. lxvi. No. 119.)

Thair be one Duc besyid the King's childring, vz., Le Duc de Lenoix nommé Esme Steuard: Protestant, de bon naturel, peu d'action.

Il y a des Marquises deux, vz. :—

Le Marquis of Kineill, nommé Lord Jean Hammilton, autre fois appelle le me Lord Hammilton, ou my Lord Arbroth: Protestant, et de peu d'action: son frere aisne, le Comte d'Arran, est lunatique, comme estoyent tous ses autres freres.

Le Marquiss de Huntley, autrefois dit my Lord Huntley: son surnom est Gordon; Catholique, et de grand action, bien aymé du Roy.

Of Erlles thair be about 22 :—

The Erll of Orknay, callit Herry Steuart: Protestant, of small action.

The Erll of Sudderland, callit Gordon: Catholique, of small action.

The Erll of Kaitnes, callit Sinklar, half brother to Bothuell of the mother's syid: Catholique, a violent bloody man.

The Erll of Murray, callit Steuart: a Protestant, of gret expectation, and young.

The Erll of Arroll, callit Hay: Catholique, a man of gret action, and estemit verey just and honorabill.

The Erll of Craufurd, callit Lyndsay: Catholique, of gret action.

The Erll of Gourei's Hous, callit Ruthven, is gone be his lait treson.

The Erll of Montross, callit Graham: Protestant, of gret action.

The Erll of Menteth, callit Graham: Protestant, a child.

The Erll of Mar, callit Erskyn: Protestant, the gretest actor of tham, and most welcum to the King, and Captane of the Castell of Edinburg, and Keper of the Prince.

* This list has no date, but the reference to "Gourie's late treason," in August 1600, shows that it was subsequent to that date, but previous to the accession of King James to the crown of England, in March 1603, if not to February 1602, when Edward Bruce of Kinloss was raised to the Peerage as Lord Bruce of Kinloss. In 1603, Sir David Murray had been succeeded as Comptroller by Peter Rollock, Bishop of Dunkeld.

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The Erll of Lythgo, callit Levistoun, of lait Lord Levistoun: estemit to be Catholique, no actor, but a peaceable nobill man, and wealthy.
The Erll of Glenkarn, callit Cunygham: Protestant, no actor.
The Erll of Eglinton, callit Montgomrie: Protestant, a child of no expectation.
The Erll of Cassils, callit Kennedy: Protestant, of no action.
The Erll Marshall, callit Keth: Protestant, of litill action.
The Erll of Angus, callit Douglas: Catholique, of litill action.
The Erll Morton, callit Douglas: Protestant, aged, and remanit at home.
The Erll of Ergyill, callit Campbell: Protestant, of gret action and micht.
The Erll of Vintoun, callit Setoun, laitlie callit Lord Setoun.
The Erll Bothwell, callit Steuart, laitlie decayit: Catholique, and nou is in Spane.
The Erll Rothess, callit Leslie: Protestant, aget, and remanit at home.
The Erll Atholl, callit Steuart: Protestant, of litill action.
The Erll Buchan, callit Douglas, laitlie decayit.

Of Lordis be about 31 :—

The Lord Lovet, callit Fraser: Protestant, of small action.
The Lord Saltoun, callit Abirnethy: Protestant, of no action.
The Lord Forbess, callit Forbess: Protestant, of litill action.
The Lord Ogilby, callit Ogilby: Catholique, of litill action.
The Lord Glammes, callit Lyon: Protestant, of litill action.
The Lord Gray, callit Gray: Catholique, of litill action; but the young Lord Gray, callit the Master of Gray, a man of great action, and Catholique.
The Lord Innermeth, callit Stewart: Protestant, a child.
The Lord Drommond, callit Drommond: Catholique, a young nobill man of gret expectation, now in Italy.
The Lord Oliphant, callit Oliphant: Catholique, of good expectation.
The Lord Sempill, callit Sempill: Catholique, ane actor.
The Lord Elphiston, callit Elphiston; Catholique, gret actor.
The Lord Lyndsay, callit Lyndsay: Protestant, of gret expectation.
The Lord Sinkler, callit Sinkler: Protestant, of no gret expectation.
The Lord Boyid, callit Boyid: Catholique, no actor.

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The Lord Cathcart, callit Cathcart: Protestant, no actor.
The Lord Ochiltry, callit Steuart: Protestant, a gret actor.
The Lord Symmervall, callit Symmervail: Protestant, that has sald all.
The Lord Roxbrough, callit Ker: Protestant, of gret action. He vas laitly callit Lard of Cessfurd.
The Lord Loudoun, callit Campbell: Protestant, a gret actor; laitly callit the Schirref of Air.
The Lord Yester, callit Hay: Protestant, of no accompt.
The Lord Ross, callit Ross: Protestant, a child.
The Lord Borthik, callit Borthik: a child, vhoss father hes sald all.
The Lord Home, callit Home: Catholique, a gret actor.
The Lord Maxwell, callit Maxwell: Catholique, gret actor.
The Lord Heriss, callit Maxwell: Catholique, a gret actor.
The Lord Sancher, callit Crichtoun: Catholique, and a gret traueller abrod.
The Lordis of Colville, Lyill, Cairlile, Soules, Dirlton, be laitlie decayit.
The Lord of the Isles, callit Makrenold: ane Irisch, and barbar.
The Lord of Kyntyir, callit Makoneill: Irisch, and barbar.
The Lord of the Leuis, callit Makgloyid: Irisch, and barbar.
The Lord of Makkengie, callit Makkengie: Irisch; a Protestant, and verey politique.
The Lord of Maklen, callit Makklen: Irisch, a child of good expectation.
The Lord of Thirlsten, callit Mettlen: a child, and neu Lordschip acquirit be the lait Chancillor Metteland.
The Lord of Spynie, callit Lyndsay, brother to the Erll Craufurd: Protestant, ane actor, and ane neu Lord.

Officiars of Estat:—

The Erll of Montross, Chancillor.
Sir Da. Murray (a brother of Bauard), Comptroller.
Sir George Home (a mean gentill man, of the hous of Manderstoun), Thesaurer.
The Erll of Ergyll, Gret Justice.
The Erll of Arrol, Gret Constable.
The Erll Marshall, Gret Marschall.
The Lord Orchart, a brother of the Erll Vinton's, First President.

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Sir Jas. Elphiston, a brother of the Lord Elphiston's, First Secretar.
Mr Tho. Hammilton of Preistfield, Advocate.
Mr Jo. Skeyn, Clerk of the Register.
The Lard of Ormston, Justice Clerk.
Mr Ro. Douglas, Provest of Glenklouden, Collector..
The Lord of Newbotill, Maister of Requestes.
Mr Peter Young, Elemosynar.
Mr Foular, Maister of Ceremoneis.

Of neu erected Barons or Lordes, be verteu of dissolution of benefices, and annexation tharof to the Crown, be about 10, *viz.*:—

The Abbacy of Arbroth, erected in a temporall Lordschip, to the Marquisse of Kinneill.
The Priory of Pluskardy, now callit the Lordschip of Orchart, to the First President.
The Abbacy of Dear, to Mr Ro. Keth
The Abbacy of Newbottill, to Mr Marc Ker.
The Abbacy of Kinloss, to Mr Eduard Bruce.
The Abbacies of Drybrugh and Cambuskynneth, to the Erll of Mar.
The Abbacy of Paslay, to the Lord Claud Hammilton.
The Abbacy of Culross, to Jo. Colville of Kinnedre
The Priorat of Elcho, to the Lard of Vemess.
The Abbacy of Lendors, to Leslie, cadet of the Erll of Rothes.

Item, The Session of Scotland (vlk is thair as the term is in England, or the Court of Parlament in France), and from vlk is no appellation bot to the High Parlament, vhar the King and thre Estats of the Realm ar assembled. It is composed of nyne Ecclesiastiques, and aucht secular Lordis Ordinars, and of sevin more Extraordinars, vharof four must be of the Clergie.

Item, The Estat of Bischops, Abbots, Prioures, etc., is altogidder decayit in Scotland; for the temporall lands be ether annexit to the Crown, or emphiotisit to the Nobilitie and Gentilmen, lyik as all the tithes, for the most part, be for small pryces, set in long assedations or lasse to secular persons.

Indorsed—To Master Karlton. A note of the Sco[ttis]ch Noblemen, by Colville.

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M^c Farlane & Erskine, Lith^rs Edin^r

IACOBVS DEI GRATIA, SCOTOR REX.

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THE POETICAL REMAINS OF KING JAMES THE FIRST OF SCOTLAND, WITH A MEMOIR, AND AN INTRODUCTION TO HIS POETRY.

By the REV. CHARLES ROGERS, LL.D., F.S.A. Scot.,
Historiographer to the Royal Historical Society.

JAMES THE FIRST of Scotland has, as a poet, been associated with Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate; and, on competent authority, has been ranked with the more distinguished musicians. In the present memoir, we shall advert to his claims as a sovereign, as well as to his personal accomplishments.

From a condition of semi-barbarism, Scotland was, in the eleventh century, aroused by the genius and example of its sovereign, Malcolm Canmore. A refugee from his country during the usurpation of his throne, he experienced at the court of Edward the Confessor not only a genial hospitality, but those humanising influences which had not yet penetrated beyond the Roman Wall. He returned to Scotland with enlarged views and ennobling aspirations, which were happily encouraged by his Queen, Margaret, the Saxon Princess. During his reign, agriculture and the arts were vigorously prosecuted; garments of native manufacture were worn by the peasantry; religious worship became general; and the Anglo-Saxon speech, introduced at court, penetrated throughout the Lowlands. Four centuries elapsed, and the heir of the Scottish throne was again a resident at the English court, on this occasion as a captive. The result, as before, was eminently beneficial. The royal exile returned home to subdue the tyranny of feudalism, establish an equitable system of law,

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and diffuse among his people those principles of order which were never wholly eradicated.

Younger son of Robert III. and his Queen, Annabella, daughter of Sir John Drummond of Stobhall, James the First was born at Dunfermline in the year 1394. A most amiable prince, Robert III. lacked that firmness needful in governing a turbulent and warlike people. From the first he submitted to the dictation of others, and at length, overcome by a growing lassitude, he devolved the administration of affairs on his brother, the Duke of Albany, a prince of decided energy and boundless ambition.

The King had two sons — David, Duke of Rothesay, and James, Earl of Carrick. Unrestrained by parental authority, Rothesay early addicted himself to lawless pleasures. When other attempts to subdue his riotous spirit proved unavailing, he was induced to think of matrimony. He wooed a daughter of the Earl of March, but, on the offer of a larger dowry, wedded a daughter of the Earl of Douglas. A marriage founded solely on convenience was unlikely to produce salutary consequences. The Duke continued his evil courses, and revelled in boisterous dissipation. On his marriage, he had been empowered to exercise certain vice-regal functions; he abused the privilege by violently possessing himself of the public revenues,* which he ruthlessly squandered. Such conduct could not long be tolerated, and in demanding the King's authority for his arrest, the Duke of Albany discharged a commendable duty. But the result proved that Albany was more influenced by personal ambition than any desire to check the unruly courses of his nephew. Procuring the King's signet to the necessary warrant, he seized Rothesay in the vicinity of St Andrews, and consigned him to the castle. After an interval, he deposited his captive in his own castle at Falkland, and there immured him in the dungeon. In fifteen days the prisoner expired, his death being imputed to a dysentery, while it was commonly believed that he perished from lack of food. With the bulk

* Chamberlain Accounts, vol. ii. pp. 312, 320, 476.

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of the people Rothesay had been a favourite, notwithstanding his excesses; and Albany, who did not enjoy the public esteem, was widely accused of hastening his nephew's death. But, as Governor of the kingdom, he could not be easily arraigned, and he provided against contingencies by summoning the Estates, and causing them to accept his own version of affairs.

The bulk of the nation, with the aged monarch himself, were apprehensive lest the young Earl of Carrick would fall a victim to the cruel policy which had destroyed his brother. In Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St Andrews, he possessed an attached and faithful guardian; but it was the prelate's own conviction that the most unflinching vigilance might not preserve the heir to the throne against the machinations of Albany. It was accordingly arranged that the young Prince should be sent to the court of France. By his kinsman, Sir David Fleming,* he was conducted to North Berwick, and from thence in a small boat to a castle which stood on the Bass Rock. Soon afterwards, a ship despatched from Leith touched at the Bass, and received on board the Prince, with Henry St Clair, Earl of Orkney, his tutor, and a small personal suite. Fleming returned on shore. On his way towards Edinburgh, at the muir of Long-Hermandstoun, he and his party were assailed by James Douglas of Abercorn, second son of the Earl of Douglas, and his confederates, when, after a terrible struggle, Fleming was slain. The attack was arranged by Albany.

In his voyage to France, the Prince had no reasonable cause to apprehend danger. English cruisers were likely to be met, but the two nations having lately concluded a truce, were on terms of amity. The truce was violated. On the 12th April 1405, the voyagers were intercepted near Flamborough Head,† and the Prince and his attendants were carried to London. Tidings of the event reaching Scotland, were conveyed to the aged and feeble monarch, who was overwhelmed in contemplating what he deemed as the extinction of his line, and the

* Wyntoun's Cronykil, vol. ii. p. 413.

† Bower's Scotichronicon, vol. ii. p. 439.

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absolute triumph of his perfidious brother. He died in the Castle of Dundonald on the 4th April 1406.

Henry IV. consulted his Privy Council as to the disposal of the royal prisoner, and his detention was determined on. In his "History of Scotland," Mr Patrick Fraser Tytler seeks to account for the policy which led to the Prince's captivity. Mr Tytler holds that Richard II. did not perish in Pontefract Castle, but escaped, in the disguise of a harper, to the Western Isles, from whence he was conducted to the Scottish court. By Robert III., and afterwards by the Duke of Albany, he was entertained at Stirling till his death, which took place in 1419. To Henry IV., who had usurped the English throne, the existence of his dethroned rival was well known, and thus "the two potentates played off their royal prisoners against each other." But other historians believe that the individual entertained at Stirling as Richard II. was an impudent impostor.

The Prince was consigned to the Tower. He was permitted to retain a few of his attendants, including his squire, William Giffard.* This person formerly held office as marshal to the Queen's household; he subsequently received a pension in reward of his fidelity.† The Earl of Orkney was allowed to return home, and his office of royal tutor was supplied by Sir John Pelham, a courtier remarkable for his learning and varied accomplishments.

After two years, Henry removed his prisoner to the Castle of Nottingham. In 1412, James was confined at Croydon, probably in the Archbishop's Palace. There he was permitted to exercise certain functions of government; for a general confirmation which he addressed from thence to Douglas of Drumlanrig, dated 30th November 1412, is in *fac-simile* preserved in the *Diplomata Scotiæ*. On the death of Henry IV., in 1413, he was again committed to the Tower, but he soon afterwards was assigned a lodgment at Windsor Castle.‡

* Wyntoun's Cronykil, vol. ii. p. 416.

† Accounts of the Great Chamberlains of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 544; vol. iii. pp. 131, 238.

‡ Rymer's Fœdera, vol. viii. p. 484; vol. ix. pp. 2-44.

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There his freedom was considerably extended. Henry V., who admired his virtues, sought statedly to utilise them. Henry was then engaged in subjugating France, and being retarded by the Scottish auxiliaries, he hoped to quell their resistance by inducing their sovereign to accompany his army. James consented to join the English troops in France, but he refused to dictate to his people while his personal liberty was restrained. Henry commended the prudence of his answer; and having obtained his consent to act as an auxiliary, placed a division of the army under his command. In 1420 and the two following years, James fought in France under the English banner, attended by a band of Scottish knights, who voluntarily waited upon him.* Commanding at the siege of Dreux, he effected the surrender of the place by his dexterity and heroism.

At the age of thirty-four, Henry V. terminated his short and brilliant career, on the 31st August 1422. His son and successor, Henry VI., was an infant nine months old. The Regent appointed to govern the English dominion was the sovereign's uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, a nobleman well affected towards the Scottish King. A promise was made by the deceased monarch, that, in reward of military service, he should be permitted to visit his dominions.† Formerly every attempt for his return had failed through the policy of Albany. That hoary usurper died in September 1419, and the office of Regent was assumed by his son, Duke Murdoch, without parliamentary or other legal sanction. Murdoch was a feeble administrator, and being harassed by two of his sons, who led vicious lives, he was brought to consent to a negotiation for the return of the lawful sovereign.

A few months after the death of Henry V., negotiations for James's return were duly entered upon. The Scottish Regent was sufficiently sincere, and although Anglican politicians were disposed to promote delay, an arrangement was ere long satisfactorily adjusted. In name of expenses of the King's maintenance during his nineteen years' forced resi-

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. x. p. 127.

† Rymer, vol. x. pp. 19, 125.

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dence in England, the Scottish Commissioners consented to pay £40,000 English money, in certain annual instalments. James had already agreed to strengthen the alliance by a personal union, founded not on policy but affection. During his residence at Windsor Castle, he had celebrated in his "King's Quair" a charming damsel of high rank, the Lady Jane Beaufort, daughter of the Earl of Somerset, and granddaughter of John of Gaunt, grand-uncle of Henry V. He succeeded in his wooing, and his enlargement was thereby facilitated. On the 2d February 1424, he married the Lady Jane in the Church of St Mary Overy, Southwark, and as dowry received a relaxation of 10,000 marks from the sum stipulated as his ransom. After an absence of nineteen years, he entered Scotland on the 1st of April. At Edinburgh he celebrated Easter, and on the 21st May was solemnly crowned at Scone. At the coronation, he was anointed by his early friend, Bishop Wardlaw, who also placed the crown upon his head, while the Duke of Albany, as Earl of Fife, handed him to his throne.

During his long captivity, James had been a close observer of that system of administration by means of which English sovereigns had rebutted the encroachments of the feudal barons, and established the roots of the monarchy in the affections of the people. His first act of authority was to summon his Parliament, which assembled at Perth five days after his coronation. The system of representation was not yet settled, and the lesser barons resident at a distance experienced much inconvenience in obeying the royal citation. To remedy this evil, and check the progress of discontent, James suggested that a committee should be invested with parliamentary powers, while the other members of the House might return to their homes. The committee so named was afterwards known as the Lords of the Articles.

In James's first Parliament many important measures were added to the statute-book. The Church was confirmed in her ancient privileges. Treason was declared a capital offence. The nobles and barons were prohibited from making feuds, and

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from riding out armed with formidable retinues. Judges and magistrates with suitable salaries were appointed in the provinces. Mendicity was suppressed, persons seeking alms or quarters without license being summarily punished. The great customs, squandered under the late administration, were restored to the crown. By a tax on property and goods the means of paying the King's ransom were secured. Fisheries were placed under protective regulations; rookeries prohibited; gold and silver mines constituted royal property; and a tax imposed on the exportation of cattle and hides. The purchase of church livings was made an indictable offence. The game of football was forbidden, and the sport of archery substituted. An Act provided that all male persons of twelve years and upwards should "busk them to be archers," and practise the art at bow-marks at every parish church.

Such measures were sufficient to satisfy the lieges as to the equity of the new administration. James now prepared to wreak vengeance on the members of the house by whose machinations his brother had perished, and himself been long exiled. As a preliminary step, he sought further to conciliate the clergy, who, under the late Regent, had enjoyed a plenitude of authority. Accordingly, when his second Parliament assembled at Perth in March 1425, a statute was passed condemning the Lollards, whose doctrines were fast spreading, especially in the western shires. With the clergy and populace attached to his rule, James now ventured to arrest Murdoch, the late Regent, his sons Walter and Alexander, and his father-in-law, the Earl of Lennox, along with twenty-six noblemen and barons. Proroguing Parliament, he first investigated the alleged complicity in treason of the twenty-six noblemen and barons; these were liberated on taking the oath of allegiance.

On the 18th May Parliament re-assembled, and on the 24th of the month the King held an assize at Stirling Castle. In his robes of state he sat as presiding judge, along with twenty-one persons of rank chosen as jurors. Walter Stewart, eldest son of Duke Murdoch, was first arraigned. Accused

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of robbery, he was found guilty, sentenced to death, and on the same day decapitated. Next day were placed at the bar the late Regent, his second son, Alexander, and the Earl of Lennox. Charged with usurping the government, they were severally condemned, and were hastened to the Heading Hill, and there executed. The eminences adjoining Stirling Rock are styled the *Gowling Hills;* and it has been alleged that the designation arose from the *gowling* or weeping of the multitude during these terrible executions. The tradition is founded on an unwarrantable conjecture, for there is reason to believe that Albany and his house were by the people detested rather than revered. From the noise produced by the wind as it rushes through a narrow gorge intersecting the sloping eminences abutting Stirling Rock, the name of the Gowling Hills has more probably been derived.

James Stewart, youngest son of the Duke of Albany, escaping the doom which fell upon his house, made a vigorous attempt to avenge the slaughter of his kindred. Aided by Finlay, Bishop of Lismore, he collected a band of freebooters, and at their head pillaged Dumbarton, and slew Sir John Stewart, the King's uncle. Hotly pursued by the royal troops, Stewart and the Bishop found refuge in Ireland. Two of their followers, who were captured, were condemned as traitors, and were torn asunder by horses, their limbs being afterwards hung on gibbets. By the forfeitures which attended the executions at Stirling, the revenues of the crown were essentially augmented.

Having strongly asserted the royal supremacy, James renewed his efforts towards salutary legislation. Landowners were compelled to cultivate ample portions of their estates; persons who destroyed trees were to be punished summarily; the exportation of young horses was prohibited. "Weapon-shawing"—the public inspection of arms four times a year—was commanded. To the poor, justice was to be administered impartially, and accused persons unable to provide advocates to plead for them, were to obtain counsel at the public cost. Highway robbery in the Highlands was pro-

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nounced a crime to which the royal clemency was not to be extended; hence all robbers in upland districts were forthwith to be executed. The clergy were allowed to make trial of heretics, and give sentence against them for execution by the secular arm.*

In 1424, the Queen gave birth to a Princess, who was christened Margaret. In the following year, ambassadors arrived from the French court, proposing to negotiate a marriage between the infant Princess and Louis of Anjou, heir of the French throne. James received the ambassadors with distinction, and assenting to their proposals, sent a special embassy to France to signify his acquiescence. Mercantile relations with Flanders were at the same time renewed; and not long afterwards a commercial treaty was concluded between the Scottish King and Eric, King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Through the recent increase of the royal revenues, James was enabled to revoke the tax on property and goods which had been imposed to defray the expenses of his ransom.

On the 11th March 1426, James assembled his third Parliament. The earlier statutes relate to the better administration of justice. The Chancellor and certain approved members of the Estates chosen by the King were to meet thrice a year as the Sessions, or chief court. The code of law embodied in *Regiam Majestatem* and *Quoniam Attachiamenta* were to be examined and reported on by six competent persons. The ordinances of Parliament were to be embodied in the King's register, and copies were to be transmitted to every sheriffdom. Charters and other instruments were to be entered in public registers. No individual was to act as judge or juror in a case in which he had personal interest, and all persons practising in the law courts were to possess a legal education. The clergy were to pray for the King and Queen and the royal family. Traders were encouraged to import weapons for the national defence; idle persons were to be compelled to labour; weights and measures were fixed, and placed under

* Acts of the Scottish Parliament, vol. ii. pp. 7, 8.

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surveillance; and travellers were to avail themselves of inns or hostelries, that such places of convenience might be adequately sustained.*

The maintenance of order in outlying portions of the kingdom next occupied the royal attention. Northern landowners made constant attacks upon each other, and proved a source of national disquietude. James summoned a Parliament at Inverness, to which he invited the northern chiefs. Unsuspecting danger, they hastened to obey. In the hall of Parliament every chief was seized, and being laden with irons, was thrown into prison. Of forty thus secured, the majority were found impracticable, and were consequently executed. Among those who promised submission and obtained the royal pardon was Alexander of the Isles. This potentate violated his pledge, and placing himself at the head of ten thousand followers, wasted the crown lands of the north, and sacked the town of Inverness. This insolent rebellion was promptly checked. The King entered Lochaber with a powerful army, where he was joined by the clans Chattan and Cameron, who had deserted from the enemy. Other desertions followed, and the insular chief sought refuge in the wilds. He afterwards threw himself before the King at Edinburgh, and offered an unqualified submission. James spared his life, but sent him as a prisoner to Tantallon. With unwonted clemency, he afterwards restored Alexander to his lands.

In the Parliaments which met from 1427 to 1430, many important enactments were added to the statute-book. Deacons of crafts were prohibited from altering the rules of their trades, or summarily punishing their subordinates. Burgh magistrates and corporations were empowered to fix the wages of labour in their several jurisdictions. Landowners and husbandmen were enjoined, under a penalty, to sow annually wheat, peas, and beans. Those occupying houses of strength were ordered to keep them in repair. The national coin was not to be sent abroad. Small barons and free tenants were allowed to elect parliamentary representatives, whose expenses were to be

* Acts of the Scottish Parliament, vol. ii. p. 9, 10.

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paid. These representatives were to elect a Speaker, who was specially to maintain the privileges of the Commons. Those seeking justice at the courts of law were to appear without retainers, and unarmed. Landowners and their tenants were to hunt the wolf four times a year. Between Lent and Lammas, partridges and muir-fowl were to be unhurt. Lepers were to enter towns only three times a week. The clergy were not to pass beyond seas to purchase benefices. Prelates and others admitted to public offices were to swear allegiance to the Queen as well as to the sovereign. Barons holding lands adjoining the sea-board were to provide galleys for the public service. Male persons with ordinary means were to provide themselves with armour. Husbandmen were not summarily to be ejected from their farms, and traders and others were not to indulge in sumptuous apparel, but were to clothe themselves according to their station.

In April 1429, the Queen gave birth to twin sons, who were named Alexander and James. The first died young; the latter survived to occupy the throne. In 1431, a truce with England was concluded, to continue five years. It was one of the conditions that the aggressions of individuals should not plunge the nations into war. While this treaty was completed, with a promise of tranquillity, Donald Balloch, a kinsman of Alexander of the Isles, landed at Lochaber with a fleet, and having overcome a superior force under the Earls of Mar and Caithness, proceeded to ravage the surrounding country. Returning to sea, he transported his booty to the Irish coast.* James re-entered the Highlands with some of his nobles and a powerful army. The Parliament which met at Perth in the autumn of 1431 voted liberal supplies. As the King reached Dunstaffnage Castle, tidings of his formidable attitude were noised abroad, and many of the rebel chiefs tendered submission. By royal edict, three hundred thieves were publicly executed, and Balloch being betrayed and slain, his head was sent to the monarch.†

* Extracta a Chronicis Scotiæ, p. 277.

† Acts of the Scottish Parliament, vol. ii. p. 20.

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For the early loyalty of the Commons, James was mainly indebted to the clergy, whom, on this account, he zealously favoured. He was, besides, sincerely attached to the doctrines of the Church, and held that those who maintained dogmas which she repelled were worthy of punishment. He accordingly sanctioned the execution of Paul Craw, a Bohemian, who came to Scotland from Prague to publish the doctrines of Wickliffe. Craw was burnt at St Andrews on the 23d July 1432.

By the fall of the House of Albany, a main peril of the crown was overthrown; but there were other nobles whose authority was formidable to the royal supremacy. Of these, the most powerful was the Earl of March, who owned the strong Castle of Dunbar, and a vast principality. The late Earl had rebelled, and his estates were forfeited; but being subsequently pardoned, he obtained restitution. It was now maintained that the forfeiture was improperly rescinded, and a committee of Parliament was in January 1434 appointed to deliberate on the question. The committee decided that the forfeiture was still in force, and that the lands of the earldom belonged to the crown. James took possession of the Earl's principality, conferring on him in its place the Earldom of Buchan, with a pension of four hundred marks. With strong indignation, March refused the new title, and retired to England, accompanied by his eldest son. Other nobles who possessed large territories began to experience alarm, and, had the project been in the least hopeful, would have conspired against the throne.

James was not unaware of prevailing discontent, and, as a measure of precaution, caused each member of the Estates to swear allegiance to the Queen. He also embraced an opportunity of engaging his lieges against the English Government, who, in violation of a truce, threatened the national honour. A violent raid had been made on the Scottish Border by Sir Robert Ogle, an English knight, and reparation was refused. The insult was aggravated by a formidable, though happily unsuccessful, attempt by the English Government to capture

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the fleet which conveyed the Princess Margaret to France, her future home. As a commencement of hostilities, James laid siege to Roxburgh Castle, then occupied by an English garrison. The attempt did not awaken much enthusiasm ; and in fifteen days James abandoned operations, and returned to Edinburgh.

The Parliament which met in October 1436 passed a new code of commercial regulations, and the King, with steady hand, proceeded to humble his more formidable nobles. On the plea that the Earldom of Strathearn was restricted to heirs-male, James seized it from the possessor, who inherited by maternal descent, offering in its stead the Earldom of Menteith, with inferior revenues. The Earl was under age, but his uncle, Sir Robert Graham, emphatically protested against the royal procedure, which he strongly denounced in open Parliament. James banished and confiscated the unruly senator, who, from his retreat in the Highlands, sent back a message of defiance. The King pronounced him a traitor, and offered a reward for his head.

So long as a powerful baron breathed out vengeance, James, as a prudent prince, should have occupied one of his royal fortresses, and sought the protection of an efficient body-guard. But a stoical indifference to danger constituted a feature of his character. He determined to proceed from Edinburgh to Perth, to observe the Christmas festivities within the Dominican monastery of that city. By a Highland woman, who sought his presence, he was entreated to abandon his intention, but he regarded her warning with scorn, and accused of superstition those who were moved by her remonstrances. At Perth he assembled his Parliament. Sir Robert Graham, who lay hid in the vicinity, drew to his retreat two persons, whom he sought as his confederates. These were Walter Stewart, Earl of Athole, brother of Robert Stewart, first Earl of Strathearn, and his grandson, Sir Robert Stewart the King's Chamberlain. Athole was eldest son of Robert II. by his second wife, Euphemia Ross, and as a doubt rested on the validity of his father's first marriage, he was easily per-

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suaded that, in the event of the King's death, he would, as legitimate heir, be elevated to the throne. As Athole's immediate heir, Stewart was satisfied that, after the King's death, the crown would, at no remote period, rest upon his temples. Dreaming of personal aggrandisement, and indifferent to the claims of fealty and the ties of blood, Athole and his grandson joined the conspiracy.

On the evening of the 20th February 1437, James held festivities in the Blackfriars' Monastery. Athole and Stewart, who held high offices at court, were among the guests. When the company had retired, James lingered in the banqueting-room, gaily conversing with the Queen and the ladies of her suite. It was past midnight, most of the royal attendants had gone to rest, and the monastery gates were closed. Suddenly torches gleamed in the outer court, and those who bore them talked loudly. Convinced that conspirators were approaching, James attempted to make his escape from the windows, but all of them were secured. The bolt had been wrenched from the door-lock. With the tongs the King tore up a portion of the flooring, and descended into a large sewer or open vault. One of the ladies, a Douglas, endeavoured to secure the door by her feeble arm. The attempt was useless. The conspirators rushed in, with murderous threats and unhallowed imprecations. For a time they could not discover the King's hiding-place. At length the shattered flooring directed them to their victim. Graham and several of his accomplices threw themselves into the vault, and rushing on the unarmed King, despatched him with their daggers.* He perished in his

* A full account of James the First's murder was written in Latin shortly after the event, and which, rendered into English by John Shirley, was appended by Pinkerton to the first volume of his "History of Scotland." As James is described as calling the King of England "his maister," it is clear that the narrative was written by an Englishman. The tortures inflicted on the King's murderers are minutely described. Mr Hill Burton, in his "History of Scotland" (vol. iii. p. 121), relates that Shirley's narrative appears in the "Miscellanea Scotica," Glasgow, 1818, and in the appendix to John Galt's novel of the "Spaewife." The learned historiographer omits to refer to a copy contained in a volume of the Maitland Club, entitled "The Life and Death of James the First of Scotland."

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forty-third year, after an actual reign of thirteen years. His remains were conveyed to the vault of the Carthusian monastery, of which he was the founder.*

The regicides did not escape the consequences of their atrocious deed; they were publicly executed, the Earl of Athole, Graham, and Sir Robert Stewart being subjected to the most excruciating tortures. Their mangled limbs were publicly exposed in memorial of their guilt.

In the preceding narrative, the character of James the First presents two aspects—that of the stern avenger and uncompromising assertor of the royal prerogative, and that of a brave and discreet prince, who desired to mete out equal justice to all his subjects, and to develop the internal resources of his dominions. With respect to the former aspect of his character, it is impossible, in the absence of documents, to ascertain how far the nobles whom he condemned were actually guilty. They were condemned after a public trial, and previous good behaviour could not be pled in extenuation of their offences. The seizure of territory from the more powerful nobles was due to the exigencies of the times.

More readily do we indulge in a charitable interpretation of the severer part of King James's character—when we regard him as the framer and administrator of wholesome laws. When he obtained the sceptre, the condition of the kingdom was absolutely lawless. Might held the place of right; the powerful triumphed over the weak; the poor were at the mercy of the chiefs. Highway robbers would suddenly snatch the herds and empty the granaries of the poorer tenantry. It was a boast of King James at the commencement of his reign, that he would make "the braken bush keep the cow," and by the summary execution of thieves and robbers, he fulfilled his resolution. Rejecting the claims of the barons to administer laws which, being written in Latin, they could not read, he caused the new statutes to be written in the vernacular, and

* The doublet worn by the King at the time of his death was preserved in the Carthusian monastery till its demolition.—Adamson's "Muses Threnodie," p. 11. Edinburgh, 1638, 4to.

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copies to be deposited in every county town. He established the Session, a high court of judicature, vested with powers similar to those now exercised by the Court of Session. With the wants of his humbler subjects he made himself familiar by mingling with them in disguise. A vigorous upholder of the Church, he denounced simony and checked the vices of the clergy. An accomplished musician, he introduced organs and choral singing into the cathedrals and abbey churches.* He composed both secular and sacred music of a plaintive character.† He excelled as a performer on the harp, lute, and other instruments.‡ He was a formidable wrestler; he ran with extraordinary swiftness, and could hurl a large stone or ponderous hammer farther than any other man. § He wrote Latin verses, || and was an active promoter of learning. He was detained in England when the University of St Andrews was instituted, but its foundation on Papal sanction was secured by his efforts.¶ He enriched the University by several princely benefactions.

In his person, King James was of the middle height; his form was robust and well-knit. By Æneas Sylvius, Pope Pius II., he is described as corpulent,** but Mair has shown that Italian writers ascribed obesity to those whose bodies were less attenuated than their own. In his "Iconographia,"†† Pinkerton has presented a half-length portrait of the King, taken, as he relates, "from a painting at Kielberg, near Tübingen, in Germany, the seat of the Von Lytrums." Respecting this painting inquiry was instituted by Dr Irving in 1823, when, at his request, Dr Schrader, Professor of Civil Law in the University of Tübingen, undertook to investigate the subject personally. Professor Schrader communicated to Dr

* Hector Boece, Book xvii.
† Tassoni, Pensiori Diversi, p. 347, ed. Venetia, 1676, 4to.
‡ Fordoun, vol. ii. Book xvi. cap. 28.
§ Mair's History, Book xi. p. 308.
|| Buchanan's History, Book x. p. 196.
¶ Drummond of Hawthornden.
** Pii Secundi Asiæ Europæque Descriptio, p. 424.
†† Iconographia Scotica, Lond. 1797, 4to.

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Irving * a report in Latin, which, rendered into English, is of the following import:—

"The Leitrumians (Grafen von Leitrum), a people of Swabia ages ago, were owners of the village and castle of Kilchberg, now in the possession of the Tessini, a kindred tribe. Having heard that in the aforesaid castle there were a number of portraits, I went there to-day with an eminent Tubingian painter, named Doerius; and in a moderate-sized room, which was in a state of great disorder, found huddled together with all kinds of farming implements—for the tenant of it was nothing beyond a common labourer—several portraits of people of that country, and among them nine royal portraits painted with considerable skill—namely, James I. King of Scotland, Alphonsus V. of Lusitania, Renatus of Sicily, Frederic III. Emperor of Germany, Henry VI. of England, Ladislaus of Hungary, John of Cyprus, Henry IV. of Castile, John I. King of Navarre. They were all life-size, in the costumes of their respective countries, and each having his proper insignia of royalty. To all appearance they were the work of the same hand—a man evidently eminent in his art, but whose name has not transpired. It is thought that they are copies. They are painted on canvas, mounted in wooden frames, and each having their proper designation and date, from 1550 to 1600. That of your King James is—

'Jacob D. I. von Gottes Guaden
Kœnig von Schottland.'

"The others are similar. My friend Doerus' mother remembers that her husband, formerly a Tubingian painter, at the request of a certain Englishman, made a portrait of this King James, and sent it over to England. It may be that mentioned in the above catalogue, and also in the preface to King James's works. It is still to be seen in the Buchanan Collection." †

* Irving's "History of Scottish Poetry," p. 133.

† In a German work entitled "Portraits of the Dukes of Saxony," etc., by Mark Henning, published at Augsburg in 1600, is presented a well-executed engraving of the Kielberg painting, which is described as a likeness of James II. This description is obviously an error; for while a portrait of James I. may have been executed during his captivity in England, and carried into Germany by his daughter Eleanora, wife of the Archduke Sigismund, it is certain that Scottish art was not equal to furnishing a likeness of James II., who died at the age of thirty. The Kielberg portrait, as represented by Henning, accompanies the present memoir.

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King James was survived by his Queen, a son, and five daughters. His only surviving son, James, succeeded him on the throne at the age of seven. This prince imitated his father's virtues, and was equally firm in resisting encroachments on his prerogative. Margaret, the eldest daughter, Dauphiness of France, was a spirited Princess, and a considerable poet. Walking in the gallery of the palace, and seeing the gifted Chartier asleep, she reverently kissed him. "How could you kiss one so ugly?" exclaimed an attendant, to which she answered, "I do not kiss the man, but the lips that have uttered so many fine sayings." She died in 1445, at the age of twenty-six. An elegy on her, composed in French, was rendered into the Scottish tongue by command of her brother, James II.

Eleanora, another of the King's daughters, married in 1448 Sigismund, Archduke of Austria, and died 20th November 1480. For the amusement of her husband, she translated from French into German the romance of Pontus and Sidonia; it has frequently been printed.*

The remaining daughters of James I. were Isabella, wife of Francis, Duke of Bretagne; Mary, who married the Count de Boucquan, son of the Lord of Campvere; and Jane, who married successively the Earl of Angus and the Earl of Morton.

The Queen did not remain a widow; she espoused Sir James Stewart, styled the Black Knight of Lorne—a union by which she became mother of three sons, James, Earl of Athole, James, Earl of Buchan, and Andrew, Bishop of Moray.

* Of this work of the Archduchess, a manuscript written so early as the year 1464 is preserved in the library at Gotha; and a transcript, together with a facsimile, has been procured for the Advocates Library (Dr Irving's "History of Scottish Poetry," p. 160).

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INTRODUCTION TO THE POETRY.

According to Mair* James the First was author of various compositions in prose and verse, which long floated in the minds of the people. Mair wrote his history about eighty years after the King's death, and his authority is therefore not inconsiderable. He names three of the royal compositions—an elaborate poem in celebration of the author's future consort; an ingenious *cantilena* or song on the same theme, beginning "Yas sen;" and a humorous poem, styled "At Beltayn." The first and last of these compositions are obviously the "King's Quair" and "Peebles to the Play," of which "At Beltane" are the opening words. The *cantilena* described as commencing "Yas sen" seems to be the "Sang on Absence" included in the Maitland Collection in the Pepysian Library.† It was first printed by Pinkerton in 1786,‡ and was reproduced by Sibbald in 1802.§ In the Maitland MS., the first line appears to have been mutilated; it reads—

"Sen that eyne that workis my weilfair."

The omission of "Yas," the opening word, as stated by Mair, has given rise to different conjectures. It is sufficient to remark, that Ritson and other competent critics unhesitatingly ascribe the composition to James I. As such, it is included in the present collection.

The "King's Quair" is mentioned by Dempster. In his Bibliotheca, it is described by Bishop Tanner,‖ who, quoting the opening line, refers to a copy preserved among the Seldenian MSS. in the Bodleian Library. This copy, the only one

* Mair's History, Book vi. p. 308.

† The collection of Early Scottish Poetry prepared by Sir Richard Maitland was presented by the Duke of Lauderdale to the celebrated Samuel Pepys, whose collections form the Pepysian Library in Magdalene College, Cambridge.

‡ Pinkerton's "Ancient Scottish Poems," vol. ii. p. 214.

§ Sibbald's "Chronicle of Scottish Poetry."

‖ Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica. Lond. 1748, folio.

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transmitted to modern times, was transcribed at the instance of William Tytler of Woodhouselee, a learned antiquary. Accompanied by "Christ's Kirk on the Green," and suitable dissertations, it was published at Edinburgh in 1783.* Mr Tytler's edition having been compared by Pinkerton with the original transcript, was found to contain "upwards of three hundred errors."† No effort, however, was made towards obtaining a correct version till 1823, when a gentleman was employed on the work by George Chalmers, the ingenious antiquary. It was now ascertained that the MS. presented such a varied orthography that a homogeneous text could not possibly be secured. Under the circumstances, Mr Chalmers, in reproducing the poem,‡ elected a system of modern spelling, almost amounting to a translation. By this course the author's meaning has frequently been obscured. In the present work, the versions of Chalmers and Tytler have been collated so as to form a text suitable to the period.

An enthusiastic admirer of Chaucer and Gower, King James composed his "Quair" in the strain used by these poets. In old English, the word *quair* signifies a book; and the poem, when written, must have been regarded as a performance of considerable magnitude. The poem is an allegory, in which heathen deities and canonized saints are conjoined to celebrate the Lady Jane Beaufort, afterwards the poet's Queen. Warton excepted, every writer on English verse has commended the poem. After presenting a long specimen, Mr Ellis remarks, "It would perhaps be difficult to select, even from Chaucer's most finished works, a long specimen of descriptive poetry so uniformly elegant as this specimen; indeed, some of the verses are so highly finished, that they would not disfigure the compositions of Dryden, Pope, or Gray." "This poem," writes Dr Irving, "displays an elegant vein of fancy, and the versification possesses no

* Poetical Remains of James the First, King of Scotland. Edin. 1783, 8vo.

† Pinkerton's "Scottish Poems," 1792, Preliminaries, xxxvi.

‡ "The Poetic Remains of some of the Scotish Kings, now first collected by George Chalmers, Esq." Lond. 1824, 12mo.

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inconsiderable merit; but its principal beauties are to be discovered in particular passages, rather than in the general structure of the whole."

To render the poem more easily understood, amidst its quaint details and curious episodes, the division into cantos, devised by Mr Tytler, has in the present edition been preserved. An epitome of the principal contents is prefixed to each canto.

"Peebles to the Play" was discovered by Bishop Percy in a folio manuscript in the Pepysian Library, among the collections of Sir Richard Maitland. The MS. is without the author's name, but the commencement of the opening line answers Mair's description of a ballad beginning "At Beltayn," which he assigns to our royal author. In the poem are set forth the sports and drollery enacted at a country fair, held annually at the town of Peebles, and to which crowds repaired from vast distances. According to a recent writer,* the poem may be assigned to the year 1430, when James and his royal retinue may have been accommodated in the convent of the Cross Church of Peebles, or in the castles of Peebles, Neidpath or Smithfield. At Peebles, James was especially popular. In 1444, a few years after his decease, an endowment was constituted to provide daily mass in the parish church for the repose of his soul. It is interesting to find that the sports of Beltane were celebrated at Peebles till a recent period, when a market was established, known as the Beltane Fair. Till the middle of the last century, the anniversary was distinguished by horse-racing; the magistrates of the burgh awarding considerable premiums.

The ballad of "Christ's Kirk" is included in the collection of George Bannatyne, prepared in 1568, and is also preserved in the folio MS. of Sir Richard Maitland, bearing date 1555-86. An imperfect version was printed on a broadside, entitled, "A Ballad of a Countrey Wedding;" it is undated, but on a copy preserved in the British Museum is written the date, "May 9th, 1660." Accompanied by some learned notes, it

* "History of Peeblesshire," by William Chambers, Edinburgh, 1864, p. 75.

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was published at Oxford in 1691 by Edmund Gibson, afterwards Bishop of London. It is included in Watson's Collection and Ramsay's "Evergreen." In 1782 it was presented in a curious volume, entitled, "Two Ancient Scotish Poems: the Gaberlunzie Man and Christ's Kirk on the Green, with notes and observations by John Callander, Esq. of Craigforth." In this work the editor has produced a text unsupported by the older MSS., but such as he believed consonant with the phraseology of the sixteenth century, and on which he sought to build what he described as "the true system of etymology," that "of deriving the words of every language from the radical sounds of the original tongue, as spoken by Noah and the builders of Babel." The poem is included in Tytler's "Poetical Remains of James the First," published in 1783. In his "Ancient Scotish Poems" (1786), Pinkerton has edited the poem from the Maitland MS. Sibbald has followed the authority of the same MS.; but in an attempt to improve and elucidate the text, has only perverted it. In his "Poetic Remains of the Scotish Kings" (Lond. 1824), Chalmers has presented the Bannatyne text, collated with the Maitland version and the more approved editions. To his labours we are considerably indebted.

Antiquaries are not agreed in ascribing "Christ's Kirk" to James the First. By several learned and ingenious persons it has been assigned to James V. On his behalf pronounce Bishops Gibson, Tanner, and Percy. So do the Lords Oxford and Hailes, Dr George Mackenzie, Ruddiman, Ritson, and Warton. These writers are, however, all governed by the authority of Dempster,* who, writing in 1627, describes James V. as author of an ingenious poem on the rustic sports of Falkirk, thereby meaning the ballad of "Christ's Kirk."

For assigning the poem to James I., the evidence is overwhelming. It has not been established that James V. composed any verses. George Bannatyne, who flourished in the reign of James V., and formed his collection just twenty-six years after that sovereign's death, names James I. as author of

* Dempster's "Hist. Eccles. Gentis Scotorum," p. 382.

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"Christ's Kirk." Sir Richard Maitland, who was a contemporary of James V., and an associate of that King, inserts the poem in his collection without a name; while, had his late sovereign composed the piece, the fact must have been well known to him. In the poem, archery is described as an existing sport, those unskilled in the art being ridiculed. James I. introduced archery into Scotland, and his Parliament enacted that it should be practised at every parish church. In the reign of James V., archery was unknown. In its stead, the estates enjoined the use of the hagbutt and arquebuss, and other kinds of artillery.

If James I. composed "Peebles to the Play," it would be unwarrantable to ascribe the authorship of "Christ's Kirk" to any other author. The structure, language, versification, and humour of the two poems are alike. In each appears the same passion for alliteration; the orthography is the same; the drollery is identical. Allan Ramsay unhesitatingly accepted "Christ's Kirk" as the composition of James I. Misled by former editors, James Watson, in his Collection, published in 1706, ascribed the poem to James V.; but in his second edition, published in 1713, he assigned it to its true author. In like manner, Pinkerton recalled an opinion he had originally expressed in favour of the fifth James, and definitely assigned the ballad to James I.

The scene of the diversions celebrated in the ballad has likewise caused a diversity of sentiment. Sibbald has named St Salvator's Chapel at St Andrews, but that structure was not reared until about twenty years after the poet's death. By many persons the scene is assigned to Christ's Kirk, in the district of Garioch, Aberdeenshire. There a considerable green surrounds the remains of an ancient church, and a fair is held annually on the spot, which formerly continued during night. It seems more reasonable to conjecture that the merry-making was practised in a district less remote from the royal residence. In all respects suiting the requirements of the poem, a locality exists within six miles of Falkland Palace, a favourite resort of James I. There, in the centre of the old

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kirk-town of Leslie, is an extensive green surrounding the parish church, and which, according to the late parochial incumbent, was "originally the scene of royal and noble games, and the resort of all that was royal and noble in Scotland." Having inspected the locality, we have ascertained that the sports of "Christ's Kirk" have, by an unbroken tradition, been associated with Leslie Green. In the adjacent fields are spots associated with the pavilions of particular nobles. A place known as *Ben-ard-ri* is pointed out as the royal station. At Leslie Green was practised the Chapmen's sport of tilting at the ring, introduced by James I., and which as an annual pastime was only discontinued at a recent period.*

To "Christ's Kirk," Allan Ramsay added two cantos, but these lack the drollery of the original. A translation of the poem into Latin verse by the Rev. John Skinner, author of "Tullochgorum" is conceived in a measure more adapted to a grave than a humorous composition. "Peebles to the Play" and "Christ's Kirk" present an interesting portraiture of Scottish rural manners four hundred years ago. Rude and boisterous as these manners were, they were untainted by the licentiousness of a later period.

Among the lost poems of our royal author is a ballad entitled, "Falkland on the Grene," which is named in the opening stanza of the poem of "Christ's Kirk." Of his hymns or sacred poems, only one specimen has been preserved; it is inserted at the close of "The Gude and Godlie Ballates," which appeared in 1570. This composition, which we have entitled "Divine Trust," is included in the present collection.

* New Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. ix. p. 111.

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THE KING'S QUAIR.

CANTO I.

[Awaking from sleep, and indisposed for further rest, the royal poet seeks comfort in the perusal of Boethius' "Consolation of Philosophy." This work, the production of Anicius Severinus Boethius, a Roman senator, who, after a career of misfortunes endured with exemplary patience, was put to death by Theodoric, King of the Goths, was translated into Anglo-Saxon by King Alfred, and afterwards by Chaucer into English. In the dawn of British learning, this work was held in high esteem. It sets out with lamenting the adverse fortune which had sent the author into exile, when Philosophy, in form of a woman, comes forward, and holds with him an interesting dialogue. She points out the evanescent nature of earthly joys, and declares God to be the only true source of lasting happiness. Such a composition was abundantly adapted as a companion to the young exiled King, while the structure of the work, half poetry, half prose, was also suitable to his tastes. He is accordingly led to think of his private misfortunes. Hearing the bell ring for matins, he leaves his bed, but resolves to compose a poem in reference to his condition.]

I.

HEIGH in the hevynis figure circulare
The rody sterres twynkling as the fyre:
And in Aquary *Cinthia* the clere,
Rynsid hir tressis like the goldin wyre,
That late tofore, in faire and fresche atyre,
Thro' *Capricorn* heved hir hornis bright,
North northward approchit the myd nyght.

II.

Quhen as I lay in bed allone waking,
New partit out of slepe a lyte tofore,
Fell me to mynd of many diverse thing
Of this and that, can I not say quharefore,
Bot slepe for craft in erth micht I no more;
For quhich as tho' coude I no better wyle,
But toke a boke to rede upon a quhile:

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III.

Off quhich the name is clepit properly
Boece, efter him that was the compiloure,
Schewing counsele of philosophye,
Compilit by that nobil senatoure
Off Rome quhilome that was the warldis floure,
And from estate by fortune a quhile
Foringit* was, to povert in exile.

IV.

And there to here this worthy lord and clerk,
His metir suete full of moralitee;
His flourit pen so fair he set a werk,
Discryving first of his prosperitee,
And out of that his infelicitee;
And than how he in poetly report,
In philosophy can him to confort.

V.

For quhich thought I in purpose at my boke,
To borowe a slepe at thilk time began,
Or ever I stent† my best was more to loke
Upon the writing of this nobil man,
That in himself the full recover wan‡
Of his infortune, poverti, and distresse,
And in tham set his verray seckernesse.§

VI.

And so the vertew of his zouth before
Was in his age the ground of his delytis:
Fortune the bak him turnyt, and therefore
He makith joye and confort that he quitis
Of theire unsekir warldis appetitis,
And so aworth‖ he takith his penance,
And of his vertew maid it suffisance.

* Estranged. † Paused. ‡ Won.
§ Firmness. ‖ Worthily.

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VII.

With mony a nobil reson as him likit
Enditing in his fair latyne tong,
So full of fruyte, and rethorikly pykit,*
Quhich to declare my scole † is over zong;
Therefore I lat him pas, and in my tong
Procede I will agayn to my sentence ‡
Of my mater, and leve all incidence.

VIII.

The long nyght beholding, as I saide,
Myn eyne gan to smert for studying;
My boke I schet, and at my hede it laide,
And doun I lay, bot ony tarying,
This mater new in my mynd rolling,
This is to seyne how that eche estate,
As Fortune lykith, thame will translate.

IX.

For sothe it is, that, on her tolter quhele,§
Every wight cleverith || in his stage,
And failyng foting oft quhen hir lest rele ¶
Sum up, sum doun, is non estate nor age
Ensured more, the Prynce than the page,
So uncouthly hir werdes** she divideth,
Namely in zouth, that seildum ought provideth.

X.

Among thir thoughtis rolling to and fro,
Fell me to mynd of my fortune and ure,††
In tender zouth how sche was first my fo,
And eft my frende, and how I gat recure ‡‡
Of my distresse and all my aventure §§
I gan ourhayle, that langer slepe ne rest
Ne myght I nat, sa were my wittis wrest. || ||

* Rhetorically chosen.
† My learning.
‡ Theme.
§ Tottering wheel.
|| Clings to.
¶ Least motion.
** Destinies.
†† Trouble.
‡‡ Relief.
§§ The incidents of my life.
|| || Wrested.

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XI.

For-wakit * and for-wallouit † thus musing,
Wery for-lyin,‡ I lestnyt sodaynlye,
And sone I herd the bell to matins ryng,
And up I rase, na langer wald I lye;
Bot now how trowe ze § suich a fantasye
Fell me to my mynd, that ay me thought the bell
Said to me, Tell on man,‖ quhat the befell.

XII.

Thought I tho' to myself, quhat may this be?
This is my awin ymaginacion,
This is no lyf ¶ that spekis unto me,
It is a bell or that impression
Of my thought causith this illusion,
That dooth me think so nycely in this wise.
And so befell as I schall zou devise.**

XIII.

Determyt furth therewith in myn entent,
Sen †† I thus have ymagynit of this soun,
And in my tyme more ink and paper spent
To lyte ‡‡ effect, I tuke conclusion
Sum new thing to write; I set me doun,
And furthwyth all my pen in hand I tuke,
And maid a ✠ §§ and thus begouth my buke.

XIV.

Though zouth of nature indegest,
Unrypit frute with windis variable,
Like to the bird that fed is on the nest,
And can not flee, of wit wayke and unstable,
To fortune both and to infortune hable,‖‖
Wist thou thy payne to cum ¶¶ and thy travaille,
For sorrow and drede wele might thou wepe and waile.

* Kept awake. † Tired. ‡ Weary of lying in bed.
§ How think ye? ‖ Proceed to rehearse. ¶ Living person.
** Advise. †† Since. ‡‡ Little.
§§ Made the sign of the holy cross. ‖‖ Liable to misfortune.
¶¶ Knewest thou thy pain to come.

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XV.

Thus stant thy confort in unsekernesse,
And wantis it, that suld the reule and gye,
Ryght as the schip that sailith stereless,
Upon the rok most to harmes hye,
For lak of it that suld bene her supplye;
So standis thou here in this warldis rage,
And wantis that suld gyde all thy viage.

XVI.

I mene this of myself, as in partye,
Though nature gave me suffisance in zouth,
The rypeness of reson lak I
To governe with my will, so lyte I couth,
Quhen stereless to travaille I begouth,
Amang the wavis of this world to drive,
And how the case anon I will descrive.

XVII.

With doubtfull hert, amang the rokkis blake,
My feble bote full fast to stere and rowe,
Helpless alone the wynter nyght I wake,
To wayte the wynd that furthward suld me throwe.
O empti saile! quhare is the wynd suld blowe
Me to the port quhare gyneth all my game?
Help, Calyope, * and wynd, in Marye name!

* Referring to the character of the "King's Quair," Dr David Irving writes thus:—"Liké other productions of the same era, it is disfigured by an incongruous mixture of Christian and Pagan theology. The aid of Calliope is invoked in the name of the Virgin Mary; the agency of Venus is not superseded by that of St John; Minerva makes a formal quotation from the Book of Ecclesiastes; and the poet, when addressing the Goddess of Wisdom, swears by Him that died on the Cross. If this were a solitary or rare instance of such incongruity, it might appear extravagant or monstrous; but it is the universal practice of the early poets to confound the manners, customs, and mythology of all ages and nations, a practice which may be partly imputed to their want of knowledge, and partly to their want of taste. Of King James, therefore, it can only be affirmed that he did not introduce a better model; but this common defect is compensated by uncommon merit, and the work exhibits a very interesting and amiable picture of its illustrious author."—*Irving's "History of Scottish Poetry,"* Edin. 1861, 8vo, p. 135.

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XVIII.

The rokkis clepe I, the prolixitee
Of doubtfulness that doith my wittis pall,
The lak of wynd is the difficultee,
In enditing of this lytill trety small:
The bote I clepe, the mater hole of all,
My wit unto the saile that now I wynd,
To seke conyng, tho I bot lytill fynd.

XIX.

At my begyning first I clepe and call
To zou Clio and to zou Polyme,*
With Terpsichore † goddis and sistris all,
In nowmer IX. as bokis specifye,
In this processe my wilsum wittis gye,‡
And with zour bryght lanternis wele convoye
My pen to write my turment and my joye.

CANTO II.

[The poet is oppressed by thinking of his captivity, and relates some of the circumstances which led to it. In his distress, he stands by the window of his chamber, and listens to the amorous song of the nightingale. Then he discourses of love, a passion to which he had heretofore been a stranger. He discovers from the window a beautiful damsel—Jane, his future wife—whom he describes in glowing terms. If she is a goddess, he feels that he cannot resist her power; but if she is a mortal creature, surely the Supreme, he reasons, will not incline her to add to the unhappiness of a captive. Precluded by his prison walls from approaching his charmer, he falls into a train of melancholy reflection.]

I.

In vere§ that full of vertu is and gude,
Quhen nature first begyneth hir enprise,
That quhilum was be cruel frost and flude,
And schouris scharp opprest in mony wise,
And Cynthius gyneth to aryse
Heigh in the est, a morrowe soft and suete,
Upward his course to drive in Ariete.

* Polymnia, the Muse of Harmony.
† One of the Nine Muses.
‡ Guide.
§ Spring.

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II.

Passit bot myd-day foure greis evin
Of lenth and brede his angel wingis bryght,
He spred upon the ground doun fro the hevin,
That for gladnesse and confort of the sight,
And with the tiklyng of his hete and light,
The tender flouris opynit thame and sprad,
And in thair nature thankit him for glad.

III.

Not fere passit the state of innocence *
Bot nere about the nowmer of zeiris thre,
Were it causit throu hevinly influence
Of Goddis will, or other casualtee,
Can I not say, bot out of my contree,
By thair avise that had of me the cure
Be see to pas, tuke I my aventure.

IV.

Purvait † of all that was us necessarye,
With wynd at will, up airely by the morowe,
Streight unto schip no longere wold we tarye,
The way we tuke the tyme I tald to sorowe,
With mony fare wele, and Sanct John to borrowe ‡
Of falowe and frende, and thus with one assent,
We pullit up saile and furth our wayis went.

* "Mr Tytler remarks, that 'this is a vague manner of expressing his age;' and he somewhat arbitrarily fixes upon nine as the age of innocence. According to the civilians, the period of infancy—with which I suppose 'the state of innocence' to be synonymous—extends to the completion of the seventh year. King James mentions that when taken prisoner he had exceeded this state about three years. We learn from history that he was in the eleventh year of his age; and thus he had exceeded the state of innocence, or infancy, by three complete years, so that the two accounts are entirely consistent with each other."—*Dr Irving's "History of Scottish Poetry,"* p. 136.

† Provided.

‡ Saint John be your protector.

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V.

Upon the wevis weltring to and fro,
So infortunate was we that fremyt * day,
That maugre plainly quethir we wold or no,
With strong hand by forse schortly to say,
Of inymyis taken and led away,
We weren all, and brought in thaire contrée,
Fortune it schupe † non othir wayis to be.

VI.

Quhare as in strayte ward, and in strong prison,
So fere forth of my lyf the hevy lyne,
Without confort in sorowe, abandoune
The secund Sistere,‡ lukit hath to tuyne,
Nere, by the space of zeris twice nyne,
Till Jupiter his merci list advert,
And send confort in relesche of my smert.

VII.

Quhare as in ward full oft I wold bewaille
My dedely lyf, full of peyne and penance,
Saing rycht thus, Quhat have I gilt to faille,
My fredome in this warld and my plesance?
Sen every wight has thereof suffisance,
That I behold, and I a creature
Put from all this, hard is myn aventure?

VIII.

The bird, the beste, the fisch eke in the see,
They lyve in fredome everich in his kynd;
And I a man, and lakith libertee
Quhat sall I seyne, quhat reson may I fynd,
That fortune suld do so? thus in my mynd,
My folk I wold argewe, bot all for nought,
Was none that mycht that on my peynes rought.

* Adverse. † Shaped.

‡ Lachesis, one of the Destinies, whose office it was to twine the thread of human life.

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IX.

Than wold I say, Giff God me had devisit
To lyve my lyf in thralldom thus and pyne,
Quhat was the cause that He more me comprisit,*
Than othir folk to lyve in such ruyne?
I suffere alone amang the figuris nyne,†
Ane wofull wrache that to no wight may spede,
And zit of every lyvis help has nede.

X.

The long dayes and the nyghtis eke,
I wold bewaille my fortune in this wise,
For quhich again distresse confort to seke,
My custum was on mornis for to rise
Airly as day, O happy exercise!
By the come I to joye out of turment,
Bot now to purpose of my first entent.

XI.

Bewailling in my chamber thus allone,
Despeired of all joye and remedye,
For-tiret of my thought and wo-begone,
And to the wyndow gan I walk in hye,
To see the warld and folk that went forbye,
As for the tyme though I of mirthis fude,
Mycht have no more, to luke it did me gude.

XII.

Now was there maid fast by the Touris wall
A gardyn faire, and in the corneris set,
Ane herbere grene, with wandis long and small
Railit about, and so with treis set
Was all the place, and hawthorn hegis knet,
That lyf was non walkyng there forbye,
That mycht within scarce any wight aspy.

* Sentenced.

† Of all the nine numbers, mine is the most unlucky.

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XIII.

So thick the beuis and the leves grene
Beschadit all the allyes that there were,
And myddis every herbere mycht be sene
The scharp grene suete jenepere,
Growing so fair with branchis here and there,
That, as it semyt to a lyf without,
The bewis spred the herbere all about.

XIV.

And on the small grene twistis sat
The lytil suete nyghtingale, and song
So loud and clere, the ympnis consecrat
Of luvis use,* now soft now lowd among,
That all the gardynis and the wallis rong
Ryght of thaire song, and on the copill next
Of thaire suete armony, and lo the text.

XV.

Worschippe ze that loveris bene this May,
For of zour bliss the kalendis † are begonne,
And sing with us, away winter away,
Come somer come, the suete seson and sonne,
Awake, for schame! that have zour hevynis wonne,‡
And amourously lift up zour hedis all,
Thank Lufe that list zou to his merci call.

XVI.

Quhen thai this song had song a littil thrawe,§
Thai stent a quhile, and therewith unafraid,
As I beheld, and kest myn eyen a lawe,‖
From beugh to beugh, thay hippit and thai plaid,
And freschly in thair birdis kynd araid,
Thaire fatheris new, and fret ¶ thame in the sonne,
And thankit Lufe, that had thair makis ** wonne.

* Hymns consecrated to love.
† Of your bliss month.
‡ Ye that have attained highest bliss by winning your mates.
§ A short space.
‖ Cast mine eyes below.
¶ Raised.
** Mates.

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XVII.

This was the plane ditie of thaire note,
And therewith all untò myself I thought,
Quhat lufe is this, that makis birdis dote?
Quhat may this be, how cummyth it of ought?
Quhat nedith it to be so dere ybought?
It is nothing, trowe I, bot feynit chere,*
And that one list to counterfeten chere.

XVIII.

Eft wold I think, O Lord, quhat may this be?
That Lufe is of so noble mycht and kynde,
Lufing his folk, and suich prosperitee
Is it of him, as we in bukis fynd,
May he oure hertis setten and unbynd:
Hath he upon our hertis suich maistrye?
Or all this is bot feynit fantasye?

XIX.

For giff he be of so grete excellence,
That he of every wight hath cure and charge,
Quhat have I gilt to him, or doon offense?
That I am thrall, and birdis gone at large,
Sen him to serve he mycht set my corage,
And, gif he be not so, than may I seyne
Quhat makis folk to jangill of him in veyne?

XX.

Can I not ellis fynd bot giff that he
Be lord, and, as a god, may lyve and regne,
To bynd, and louse, and maken thrallis free,
Than wold I pray his blissful grace benigne,
To hable † me unto his service digne,
And evermore for to be one of tho
Him trewly for to serve in wele and wo.

* Feigned mirth. † Enable.

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XXI.

And therewith kest I doun myn eye ageyne,
Quhare as I saw walkyng under the Toure,
Full secretely, new cumyn hir to pleyne, *
The fairest or the freschest zoung floure
That ever I sawe, methought, before that houre,
For quhich fodayne abate, † anon astert ‡
The blude of all my body to my hert.

XXII.

And though I stood abaisit tho a lyte,
No wonder was; for quhy? my wittis all
Were so ouercome with plesance and delyte,
Only through latting of myn eyen fall,
That sudaynly my hert become hir thrall,
For ever of free wyll, for of manance §
There was no takyn in her suete face.

XXIII.

And in my hede I drew rycht hastily,
And eft sones I lent it out ageyne,
And saw hir walk that verray womanly,
With no wight mo, bot only women tueyne,
Than gan I studye in myself and seyne,
Ah! suete are ze a warldly creature,
Or hevingly thing in likeness of nature?

XXIV.

Or ar ze god Cupidis owin princesse?
And cumyn are to louse me out of band,
Or are ze veray Nature the goddesse,
That have depayntit with zour hevinly hand,
This gardyn full of flouris, as they stand?
Quhat sall I think, allace! quhat reverence
Sall I mester‖ to zour excellence.

* Coming forth to make her morning orisons.
† Suddenly I was cast down.
‡ Started.
§ Forbidding pride.
‖ Administer.

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XXV.

Giff ze a goddesse be, and that ze like
To do me payne, I may it not astert;
Giff ze be warldly wight, that dooth me sike,
Quhy lest God mak zou so my derest hert,
To do a sely prisoner thus smert,
That lusis zou all, and wote of nought but wo,
And, therefore, merci suete! sen it is so.

XXVI.

Quhen I a lytill thrawe had maid my mone,
Bewailing myn infortune and my chance,
Unknawin how or quhat was best to done,
So ferre I fallying into lufis dance,
That sodeynly my wit, my contenance,
My hert, my will, my nature, and my mynd,
Was changit clene rycht in ane other kind.

XXVII.

Of hir array the form gif I sal write,
Toward her goldin haire, and rich atyrē,
In fretwise couchit with perlis quhite,*
And grete balas lemyng as the fyre,†
With mony ane emerant and faire saphire,
And on hir hede a chaplet fresch of hewe,
Of plumys partit rede, and quhite, and blewe.

XXVIII.

Full of quaking spangis brycht as gold,
Forgit of schap like to the amorettis, ‡
So new, so fresch, so pleasant to behold,
The plumys eke like to the floure jonettis, §
And other of schap, like to the floure jonettis;
And, above all this, there was, wele I wot,
Beautee eneuch to mak a world to dote.

* Hid with fretwork of pearls.
† Precious stones, sparkling as fire.
‡ Made in the form of a love-knot.
§ Perhaps the *Jonquil*, a May flower.

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XXIX.

About hir neck, quhite as the fayre enamel,
A gudelie cheyne of small orfeverye,*
Quhare by there hang a ruby, without faille †
Like to ane hert schapin verily,
That, as a sperk of lowe ‡ so wantonly
Semyt birnying upon hir quhite throte,
Now gif there was gud pertye, God it wote.

XXX.

And for to walk that fresche Mayes morowe,
Ane huke she had upon her tissew quhite,
That gudeliare had not bene sene to forowe,
As I suppose, and girt sche was alyte;
Thus halflyng lowfe for haste, to suich delyte,
It was to see her zouth in gudelihed,
That for rudenes to speke thereof I drede.

XXXI.

In hir was zouth, beautee, with humble aport,
Bountee, richesse, and womanly faiture,
God better wote than my pen can report,
Wisdome, largesse estate, and conyng sure
In every point, so guydit hir mesure,
In word, in dede, in schap, in contenance,
That nature mycht no more hir childe auance.

XXXII.

Throw quhich anon I knew and understude
Wele that sche was a wardly creature,
On quhom to rest myn eye, so much gude
It did my wofull hert, I zow assure
That it was to me joye without mesure,
And, at the laft, my luke unto the hevin
I threwe furthwith, and said thir versis sevin:

* A chain of gold work.
† Without flaw.
‡ A spark of fire.

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XXXIII.

O Venus clere! of goddis stellifyit,
To quhom I zelde homage and sacrifise,
Fro this day forth zour grace be magnifyit,
That me ressauit have in such wise,
To lyve under zour law and so seruise;
Now help me furth, and for zour merci lede
My hert to rest, that deis nere for drede.

XXXIV.

Quhen I with gude entent this orison
Thus endit had, I stynt a lytill stound,
And eft myn eye full pitously adoun
I kest, behalding unto hir lytill hound,
That with his bellis playit on the ground,
Than wold I say, and sigh therewith a lyte,
Ah! wele were him that now were in thy plyte!

XXXV.

An other quhile the lytill nyghtingale,
That sat upon the twiggis, wold I chide,
And say rycht thus, Quhare are thy notis smale,
That thou of love has song this morowe tyde?
Seis thou not hir that sittis the besyde?
For Venus' sake, the blisfull goddesse clere,
Sing on agane, and make my Lady chere.*

XXXVI.

And eke I pray, for all the paynes grete,
That, for the love of Proigne,† thy sister dere,
Thou sufferit quhilom, quhen they brestis wete
Were with the teres of thyne eyen clere,
All bludy ronne that pitee was to here,
The crueltee of that unknyghtly dede,
Quhare was fro the bereft thy maidenhede.

* Glad.

† Alluding to the story of Tereus, Progne, and Philomela. Ovid Metam. B. vi.

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XXXVII.

Lift up thyne hert, and sing with gude entent,
And in thy notis suete the treson telle,
That to thy sister trewe and innocent,
Was kythit by hir husband false and fell,
For quhois gilt, as it is worthy well,
Chide thir husbandis that are false, I say,
And bid them mend in XX deuil way.*

XXXVIII.

O lytill wreich, allace! maist thou not se
Quho comyth zond? Is it now tyme to wring? †
Quhat sory thoucht is fallin upon the?
Opyn thy throte; hastow no lest to sing? ‡
Allace! sen thou of reson had felying, §
Now, swete bird say ones to me pepe, ‖
I dee for wo; me think thou gynis slepe.

XXXIX.

Hastow no mynde of lufe? quhare is thy make? ¶
Or artow seke, or smyt with jelousye?
Or is sche dede, or hath sche the forsake?
Quhat is the cause of thy melancolye,
That thou no more lift maken melodye?
Sluggart, for schame! lo here thy golden houre
That worth were hale all thy lyvis laboure.

XL.

Gif thou suld sing wele ever in thy lyve,
Here is, in fay,** the time, and eke the space:
Quhat wostow than? †† Sum bird may cum and stryve
In song with the, the maistry to purchace.
Suld thou than cesse, it were great schame allace,
And here to wyn gree ‡‡ happily for ever;
Here is the time to syng, or ellis never.

* With double penance.
‡ Hast thou no desire to sing?
‖ Chirp.
** In faith.
† Grieve.
§ Feeling.
¶ Thy mate or marrow.
†† What wottest thou?
‡‡ To win the victory.

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XLI.

I thocht eke thus gif I my handis clap,
Or gif I cast, than will sche flee away;
And, gif I hald my pes, than will sche nap;
And, gif I crye, sche wate not quhat I say;
Thus quhat is best, wate I not be this day,
Bot blawe wynd, blawe, and do the leuis schake,
That sum tuig may wag, and make hir to wake.

XLII.

With that anon rycht sche toke up a sang,
Quhare com anon mo birdis and alight;
Bot than to here the mirth was tham amang,
Ouer that to see the suete sicht
Of hyr ymage, my spirit was so light,
Methought I flawe for joye without arest,
So were my wittis bound in all to fest.

XLIII.

And to the nottis of the philomene,
Quhilkis sche sang the ditee there I maid
Direct to hir that was my hertis quene,
Withoutin quhom no songis may me glade,
And to that sanct walking in the schade,
My bedis * thus with humble hert entere,
Deuotly I said on this manere.

XLIV.

Quhen sall zour merci rew upon † zour man,
Quhois feruice is yet uncouth unto zow,
Sen quhen ze go, there is not ellis than,
Bot hert quhere as the body may not throu
Folow thy hevin, quho suld be glad bot thou,
That such a gyde to folow has undertake,
Were it throu hell, the way thou not forsake.

* Prayers. † Have pity upon.

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XLV.

And, efter this, the birdis everichone
Tuke up ane other sang full loud and clere,
And with a voce said, Well is vs begone,
That with our makis are togider here;
We proyne * and play without dout and dangere,
All clothit in a soyte full fresch and newe,
In luffis service besy, glad, and trewe.

XLVI.

And ze fresch May, ay mercifull to bridis,
Now welcum be, ze floure of monethis all,
For not onely zour grace upon us bydis,
Bot all the warld to witnes this we call,
That strowit hath so plainly over all,
With new fresch suete and tender grene,
Our lyf, our lust, † our governoure, our quene.

XLVII.

This was their sang, as semyt me full heye,
With full mony uncouth swete note and schill,
And therewith all that faire vpward hir eye
Wold cast amang, as it was Goddis will,
Quhare I might se, standing alone full still,
The faire faiture that nature, for maistrye,
In hir visage wrought had full lufingly.

XLVIII.

And, quhen fche walkit, had a lytill thrawe
Under the suete grene bewis bent,
Hir faire fresch face, as quhite as any snawe,
Sche turnyt has, and furth her wayis went;
Bot tho began myn axis ‡ and turment,
To sene hir part, and folowe I na mycht,
Methought the day was turnyt into nycht.

* Deck out ourselves. † Desire. ‡ My fever.

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XLIX.

Than said I thus, Quharto lyve I langer?
Wofullest wicht, and subject unto peyne:
Of peyne? no: God wote ze, for thay no stranger
May wirken ony wight, I dare wele seyne.
How may this be, that deth and lyf both tueyne?
Sall bothe atonis, in a creature
Togidder dwell, and turment thus nature?

L.

I may not ellis done, bot wepe and waile
Within thir cald wallis thus ylokin: *
From hensfurth my rest is my travaile;
My drye thirst with teris sall I slokin,
And on my self bene all my harmys wrokin:
Thus bute† is none; bot Venus, of hir grace,
Will schape remede, or do my spirit pace.‡

LI.

As Tantalus I travaile, ay buteles
That ever ylike hailith at the well
Water to draw, with buket bottemless,
And may not spede, quhois penance is ane hell;
So by myself this tale I may well telle,
For unto hir that herith not I pleyne,
Thus like to him my travaile is in veyne.

LII.

So sore thus sighit I with myself allone,
That turnyt is my strength in febilnesse,
My wele in wo, my frendis all in fone,§
My lyf in deth, my lycht into dirkness,
My hope in feere, in dout my sekirnesse;
Sen sche is gone, and God mote hir conuoye,
That me may gyde fro turment and to joye.

* Locked up.
† Remedy.
‡ Calm my spirit.
§ My friends are turned my foes.

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LIII.

The long day thus gan I prye and poure,
Till Phebus endit had his bemes brycht,
And bad go farewele every lef and floure,
This is to say, approch gan the nycht,
And Esperus his lampis gan to light,
Quhen in the wyndow, still as any stone,
I bade at lenth, and, kneeling, maid my mone.

LIV.

So lang till evin for lak of mycht and mynd,
For-wepit and for-pleynit piteously,
Ourset so* sorrow had bothe hert and mynd,
That to the cold stone my hede on wrye
I laid, and lenit, amaisit verily!
Half-sleping and half-suoun, in such a wise,
And quhat I met I will zou now deuise.

CANTO III.

[A light suddenly shines through the window, and a voice addresses the disconsolate poet, with the promise of comfort and healing. Embraced in a crystal cloud, he ascends from sphere to sphere till he gains the empire of Venus. There he finds lovers of different degrees and conditions, whom he describes felicitously. He enters an apartment where Venus is reclining on a couch, attended by Fair Calling, Secrecy, and others. The royal lover humbly commends his suit to the goddess, who favourably responds, and, under the guidance of Good Hope, sends him to visit the palace of Minerva.]

I.

Methought that thus all sodeynly a lyt,
In at the wyndow come quhare at I lent,
Of quhich the chambere wyndow schone full brycht,
And all my body so it hath ouerwent,
That of my sicht the vertew hale I blent,†
And that with all a voce unto me said,
I bring the comfort and hele, be not affrayde.

* Overwhelmed both in body and spirit.

† Dazzled.

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II.

And furth anon it passit sodeynly,
Quhere it come in, the rycht way ageyne,
And sone methought furth at the dure in hye*
I went my weye, was nathing me ageyne,
And hastily, by bothe the armes tueyne,
I was araisit up into the aire,
Clippit † in a cloude of crystall clere and faire.

III.

Ascending vpward ay fro spere to spere,
Through aire and watere and the hote fyre,
Till that I come vnto the circle clere,
Off signifere quhare fair brycht and schere,‡
The signis schone, and in the glad empire
Off blissful Venus ane cryit now
So sudaynly, almost I wist not how.

IV.

Off quhich the place, quhen I com there nye,
Was all methought of christal stonis wrot,
And to the port I liftit was in hye,
Quhare sodaynly, as quho sais at a thought,
It opnyt, and I was anon inbrought,
Within a chamber, large rowm and faire,
And theré I fand of people grete repaire.

V.

This is to seyne, that present in that place,
Methought I sawe of every nacion
Loueris that endit thaire lyfis space
In lovis service, mony a mylion
Of quhois chancis maid is mencion
In diverse bukis quho thame list to se,
And therefore here thaire namys lat I be.

* In haste. † Embraced. ‡ Burning bright.

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VI.

The quhois aventure and grete laboure
Abone their hedis writen there I fand,
This is to seyne martris, and confessoure,
Ech in his stage, and his make in his hand;
And therewith all thir peple sawe I stand,
With mony a solempt contenance,
After as lufe thame lykit to auance.

VII.

Off gude folkis that faire in lufe befell,
There saw I sitt in order by thame *one*
With *hedis hore*, and with thame stude *gude will*
To talk and play, and after that anon
Besyde thame, and next there saw I gone
Curage, amang the fresche folkis zong,
And with thame playit full merily, and song.

VIII.

And in ane other stage, endlong the wall,
There saw I stand in capis wyde and lang
A full grete nowmer, but thaire hudis all
Wist I not why, atoure thair eyen hang,
And ay to thame come *Repentance* amang,
And maid thame chere degysit in his wede,
And downward efter that zit I tuke hede.

IX.

Rycht ouer thwert the chamber was there drawe
A trevesse thin and quhite, all of plesance,
The quhich behynd standing there, I sawe
A warld of folk, and by thair contenance
Thair hertis semyt full of displesance,
With billis in thaire handis of one assent,
Vnto the judge thaire playntis to present.

X.

And there withal apperit vnto me
A voce, and said, Tak hede, man, and behold:

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Zonder there thou seis the hiest stage and gree
Of agit folk, with hedis hore and olde;
Zone were the folk that never change wold
In lufe, but trewly servit him alway,
In every age, vnto thaire ending day.

XI.

For fro the time that thai coud vnderstand
The exercise of lufis craft, the cure
Was non on lyve that toke so much on hand
For lufis sake, nor langer did endure
In lufis service; for, man, I the assure,
Quhen thay of zouth ressavit had the fill,
Zit in thaire age thame lakkit no gude will,

XII.

Here bene also of suich as in counsailis,
And all thare dedis were to Venus trewe,
Here bene the Princis faucht the grete batailis,
In mynd of quhom ar maid the bukis newe;
Here bene the poetis that the sciencis knewe,
Throwout the warld, of lufe in thair suete layes,
Such as Ovide and Omere in thair dayes.

XIII.

And efter thame down in the next stage,
There, as thou seis, the zong folkis pleye;
Lo! these were thay that, in thaire myddill age,
Servandis were to lufe in mony weye,
And diversely happenit for to deye,
Sum sorrowfully for wanting of thaire makis,
And sum in armes for thaire ladyes sakis.

XIV.

And other eke by other diuerse chance,
As happin folk all day, as ze may se;
Sum for dispaire, without recoverance;
Sum for desyre, surmounting thaire degree;
Sum for dispite, and other inmytee;

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Sum for vnkyndness, without a quhy;
Sum for to mock, and sum for jelousye.

XV.

And efter this, vpon zone stage doun,
Tho that thou seis stand in capis wyde;
Zone were quhilum folk of religion,
That from the warld thaire governance did hide,
And frely servit lufe on every syde,
In secrete with thaire bodyis and thaire gudis,
And lo! quhy so, thai hingen doun thaire hudis.

XVI.

For though that thai were hardy at assay,
And did him service quhilum prively,
Zit to the warldis eye it semyt nay,
So was thaire service half cowardly,
And for thay first forsuke him opynly,
And efter that thereof had repenting,
For schame thaire hudis oure thaire eyen they hyng.

XVII.

And seis thou now zone multitude on rawe,
Standing behynd zone travesse of delyte,
Sum bene of thame that haldin were full lawe,
And take by frendis, nothing thay to wyte,
In zouth from lufe, into the cloistere quite,
And for that cause are cummyn recounsilit,
On thame to pleyne that so thame had begilit.

XVIII.

And othir bene amongis thame also,
That cummyn are to court on lufe to pleyne,
For he thair bodyes had bestouit so,
Quhare bothe thaire hertes gruch there ageyne,
For quhich in all thaire dayes soth to seyne,
Quhen other lyvit in joye and plesance,
Thaire lyf was nought bot care and repentance.

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XIX.

And quhare thaire hertis gevin were and set,
Were copilt with other that could not accord;
Thus were thai wranged that did not forfet,
Departing thame that never wold discord,
Off zong ladies faire, and mony lord,
That thus by maistry were fro thaire chose dryve,
Full ready were thaire playntis there to gyve.

XX.

And other also I sawe compleynyng there
Vpon fortune and hir grete variance,
That quhere in love so well they coplit were
With thair fuete makin coplit in plesance,
So sodeynly maid thair disseverance,
And tuke thame of this warldis companye,
Withoutin cause there was non other quhy:

XXI.

And in a chiere of estate besyde,
With wingis bright, all plumyt, bot his face,
There sawe I sitt the blynd god *Cupide*,
With bow in hand that bent full redy was,
And by him hang thre arowis in a case,
Off quhich the hedis grundyn were full rycht,
Off diverse metalis forgit fair and brycht.

XXII.

And with the first that hedit is of gold,
He smytis soft, and that has esy cure;
The secund was of silver, mony fold,
Wers than the first, and harder aventure;
The third of stele is schot without recure;
And on his long zallow lokkis * schene,
A chaplet had he all of levis grene.

* Yellow locks.

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XXIII.

And in a retrete lytill of compas,
Depeyntit all with sighis wonder sad,
Not suich sighis as hertis doith manace,
Bot suich as dooth lufaris to be glad,
Fond I *Venus* vpon hir bed, that had
A mantill cast ouer hir schuldris quhite:
Thus clothit was the goddesse of delyte.

XXIV.

Stude at the dure *Fair Calling* hir vschere,
That coude his office doon in conyng wise,
And *Secretee* hir thrifty chamberere,
That besy was in tyme to do seruise,
And othir moyt I cannot on avise;
And on hir hede of rede rosis full suete,
A chapellet sche had, faire, fresch, and mete.

XXV.

With quaking hert astonate of that sight,
Unethis wist I, quhat that I suld seyne,*
Bot at the last febily as I mycht,
With my handis on bothe my kneis tueyne,
There I begouth my caris to compleyne,
With ane humble and lamentable chere †
Thus salute I that goddess brycht and clere.

XXVI.

Hye Quene of Lufe! sterre of benevolence!
Pitouse princesse, and planet merciable!
Appesare of malice and violence!
By vertew pure of zour aspectis hable,
Vnto zour grace lat now bene acceptable
My pure request, that can no forthir gone
To seken help, bot vnto zow allone!

* Scarce knowing what to say. † Countenance.

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XXVII.

As ze that bene the socoure and suete well
Off remedye, of carefull hertes cure,
And in the huge weltering wavis fell
Off lufis rage, blissfull havin, and sure,
O anker and treue, of oure gude aventure,
Ze have zour man with his gude will conquest,
Merci, therefore, and bring his hert to rest!

XXVIII.

Ze knaw the cause of all my peynes smert
Bet * than myself, and all myn auenture
Ze may conueye, and, as zow list, conuert
The hardest hert that formyt hath nature,
Sen in zour handis all hale lyith my cure,
Have pitee now, O brycht blisfull goddesse,
Off zour pure man, and rew on his distresse!

XXIX.

And though I was vnto zour lawis strange,
By ignorance, and not by felonye,
And that zour grace now likit hath to change
My hert, to serven zou perpetualye,
Forgiue all this, and schapith remedye,
To sauen me of zour benigne grace,
Or do me steruen † furthwith in this place.

XXX.

And with the stremes of zour percyng light,
Conuoy my hert, that is so wo-begone,
Ageyne vnto that suete hevinly sight,
That I, within thir wallis cald as stone
So suetly saw on morow walk, and gone,
Law in the gardyn rycht tofore mine eye,
Now, merci, Quene! and do me not to deye.

* Better. † Or kill me instantly.

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XXXI.

Thir wordis said, my spirit in dispaire
A quhile I stynt, abiding efter grace,
And therewith all her cristall eyen faire
She kest asyde, and efter that a space,
Benignely sche turnyt has hir face
Towardis me full plesantly conueide,
And vnto me rycht in his uise sche seide:

XXXII.

Zong man, the cause of all thyne inward sorowe
Is not vnknawin to my deite,
And thy request bothe nowe and eke to forowe,
Quhen thou first maid profession to me,
Sen of my grace I have inspirit the
To knawe my lawe, contynew furth, for oft,
There as I mynt full sore, I smyte bot soft.

XXXIII.

Paciently thou tak thyne auenture,
This will my son Cupide, and so will I,
He can the stroke, to me langis the cure
Quhen I se tyme, and therefore truely
Abyde, and serue, and lat gude hope the gye,
Bot for I have thy forehede here pent,
I will the schewe the more of myn entent.

XXXIV.

This is to say, though it to me pertene
In lufis lawe the septre to governe,
That the effectis of my bemes schene
Has thair aspectis by ordynance eterne,
With otheris bynd and mynes to discerne,
Quhilum in thingis bothe to cum and gone,
That langis not to me to writh, God allone.

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XXXV.

As in thine awin case now may thou se,
For quhy, lo that otheris influence,
Thy persone standis not in libertee;
Quharfore, though I geve the benevolence,
It standis not zit in myn advertence,
Till certeyne course endit be and ronne,
Quhill of trew seruis thow have hir I-wonne.*

XXXVI.

And zit, considering the nakitnesse
Bothe of thy wit, thy persone, and thy mycht,
It is no match, of thyne vnworthinesse
To hir hie birth, estate, and beautee brycht,
Als like ze bene, as day is to the nicht,
Or sek-cloth is unto fyne cremesye,†
Or doken to the fresche dayesye.

XXXVII.

Vnlike the mone is to the sonne schene,
Eke Januarye is like vnto May,
Vnlike the cukkow to the phylomene;
Thaire tavartis ‡ are not bothe maid of aray,
Vnlike the crow is to the papejay,
Vnlike, in goldsmythis werk, a fischis eye
To purcress with perll, or maked be so heye.

XXXVIII.

As I have said, vnto me belangith
Specially the cure of thy seknesse,
Bot now thy matere so in balance hangith,
That it requireth, to thy sekernesse,
The help of other mo than one goddesse,
And have in thame the menes and the lore,
In this mater to schorten with thy sore.

* Gained.

† Crimson cloth.

‡ The *Tavart*, *tabard*, or *taberd*, was a short coat, open before, and without sleeves, and worn in the time of war.

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XXXIX.

And for thou sall se wele that I entend,
Vnto thy help thy welfare to preserue,
The streight weye thy spirit will I send
To the goddesse that clepit is *Mynerve*,
And se that thou hir hestis * well conserve,
For in this case sche may be thy supplye,
And put thy hert in rest als well as I.

XL.

Bot for the way is vncouth vnto the,
There as hir dwelling is, and hir sojurne,
I will that *Gud Hope* seruand to the be,
Zoure alleris † frende, to let the to murn, ‡
Be thy condyt and gyde till thou returne,
And hir besech, that sche will in thy nede
Hir counselle geve to thy welfare and spede.

XLI.

And that sche will, as langith § hir office,
Be thy gude lady, help and counseiloure,
And to the schewe hir rype and guid auise,
Throw quhich thou may be processe and laboure,
Atteyne vnto that glad and goldyn floure,
That thou wald have so fayn with all thy hart,
And forthirmore sen thou her servand art.

XLII.

Quhen thou descendis doun to ground ageyne,
Say to the men, that there bene resident,
How long think thay to stand in my disdeyne,
That in my lawis bene so negligent,
From day to day, and list thame not repent,
Bot breken louse and walken at thaire large,
Is none that thereof gevis charge.

* Behests, commands.
† Your ally or confederate.
‡ To hinder from mourning.
§ Belongeth.

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XLIII.

An for, quoth sche, the angir and the smert
Of thair vnkyndenesse dooth me constreyne
My femynyne and wofull tender hert,
That than I wepe, and to a token pleyne,
As of my teris cummyth all this reyne,
That ze se on the ground so fast yvete,*
Fro day to day, my turment is̃ so grete.

XLIV.

And quhen I wepe, and stynten othir quhile
For pacience that is in womanhede,
Than all my wrath and rancoure I exile,
And of my cristall teris that bene shede,
The hony flouris growen vp and sprede,
That preyen me in thaire flouris wise,
Be trewe of lufe, and worship my seruice.

XLV.

And eke, in taken of this pitouse tale,
Quhen so my teris dropen on the ground,
In thaire nature the lytill birdis smale
Styntith thair song, and murnyth for that stound,
And all the lightis in the hevin round
Off my greuance have such compacience,
That from the ground they hiden thaire presence.

XLVI.

And zit in tokenyng forthir of this thing,
Quhen flouris springis and freschests bene of hewe,
And that the birdis on the twistis sing,
At thilke tyme ay gynen folk to renewe,†
That servis vnto loue, as ay is dewe,
Most qmonly has ay his obseruance,
And of thaire sleuth tofore have repentance.

* Wet with my tears.

† In the spring, when flowers put forth and birds sing on the trees, and begin to pair.

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XLVII.

Thus maist thou seyne that myn effectis grete,
Vnto the quhich ze aught and maist weye,
No lyte offense to sleuth is forget,
And therefore in this wise to thame seye,
As I the here have bid, and conueye
The matere all the better tofore said,
Thus sall on the my charge bene laid.

XLVIII.

Say on than, Quhare is becummyn for schame
The songis new, the fresch carolis and dance,
The lusty lyf, the mony change of game,
The fresche aray, the lusty contenance,
The besy awayte, the hertly obseruance
That quhilum was amongis thame so ryf,
Bid thame repent in tyme, and mend thaire lyf.

XLIX.

Or I sall, with my fader old Saturne,
And with alhale oure hevinly alliance,
Oure glad aspectis from thame writhe and turne,
That all the warld sall waile thaire governance,
Bid thame betyme, that thai haue repentance,
And thaire hertis hale renew my lawe,
And I my hand fro beting sall withdrawe.

L.

This is to say, contynew in my seruise,
Worschip my law, and my name magnifye,
That am zour hevin and zour paradise,
And I zour confort here sall multiplye,
And, for zoure meryt here perpetualye,
Ressaue I sall zour saulis of my grace,
To lyve with me as goddis in this place.

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CANTO IV.

[Led by Good Hope, the royal lover reaches Minerva's palace, and is admitted by Patience, the chief porter. Brought into the presence of Minerva, he reveals the object of his wishes. Satisfied that his passion is consonant with virtue, the goddess promises her friendly assistance. Meanwhile she improves the occasion by a display of her metaphysical learning, and by discussing the doctrine of fate and free-will. She then dismisses him in quest of Fortune, and on a beam of light conducts him to the earth.]

I.

With humble thanks, and all the reverence
That feeble wit and conyng may atteyne,
I tuke my leve; and from hir presence
Gude Hope and I togider both tueyne
Departit are, and schortly for to seyne
He hath me led redy wayis rycht
Vnto *Minerve's Palace*, faire and brycht.

II.

Quhare as I fand, full redy at the zate,
The *maister portare*, callit *Pacience*,
That frely lete vs in, vnquestionate,
And there we sawe the perfyt excellence,
The faid renewe, the state, the reuerence,
The strenth, the beautee, and the ordour digne,
Off hir court-riall, noble and benigne.

III.

And straught vnto the presence sodeynly
Off dame Minerue, the pacient goddesse,
Gude Hope my gyde led me redily,
To quhom anon, with dredefull humylnesse
Off my cummyng, the cause I gan expresse,
And all the processe hole, vnto the end,
Off Venus' charge, as likit her to send.

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IV.

Off quhich rycht, this hir ansuere was in bref:
My son, I have wele herd, and vnderstond,
Be thy reherse, the mater of thy gref,
And thy request to procure, and to fond*
Off thy penance sum confort at my hond,
Be counsele of thy lady Venus clere,
To be with hir thyne help in this matere.

V.

Bot in this case thou sall well knawe and witt,
Thou may thy hert ground on suich a wise,
That thy laboure will be bot lytill quit,
And thou may set it in otherwise,
That wil be to the grete worschip and prise;
And gif thou durst vnto that way enclyne,
I will the geve my lore and discipline.

VI.

Lo, my gude son, this is als much to seyne,
As gif thy lufe be set alluterly†
Of nyce lust, thy travail is in veyne,
And so the end sall turne of thy folye,
To payne and repentance, lo wate thou quhy?
Gif the ne list on lufe thy *vertew set*,
Vertu sall be the cause of thy forfet.

VII.

Take him before in all thy gouernance,
That in his hand the stere has of zou all,
And pray vnto his hye purveyance,
Thy lufe to gye, and on him traist and call,
That corner-stone, and ground is of the wall,
That failis not, and trust, withoutin drede,
Vnto thy purpose sone he sall the lede.

* Find. † Altogether, entirely.

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VIII.

For lo, the werk that first is foundit sure,
May better bere apace and hyare be,
Than otherwise and langere sall endure,
Be mony fald, this may thy reson see,
And stronger to defend aduersitee;
Ground thy werk, therefore, upon the stone,
And thy desire sall forthward with the gone.

IX.

Be trewe, and meke, and stedfast in thy thought,
And diligent her merci to procure,
Not onely in thy word, for word is nought,
Bot gif thy werk and all thy besy cure
Accord thereto, and vtrid* be mesure,
The place, the houre, the maner, and the wise,
Gife mercy sall admitten thy servise.

X.

All things has tyme, thus says *Ecclesiaste;* †
And wele is him that his tyme will abit:
Abyde thy tyme; for he that can bot haste
Can not of hap, the wise man it writ;
And oft gud fortune flourith with gude wit:
Quharefore, gif thou will be well fortunyt,
Lat wisedom ay to thy will be junyt.

XI.

Bot there be mony of so brukill sort,
That feynis treuth in lufe for a quhile,
And setten all thaire wittis and disport,
The sely innocent woman to begyle;
And so to wynne thaire lustis with a wile;
Suich feynit treuth is all bot trechorye,
Vnder the vmber ‡ of ypocrisye.

* Regulated.

† "To everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven; a time to get and a time to lose," etc.—ECCLES. iii.

‡ Shade.

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XII.

For as the foulere quhistlith in his throte,
  Diuersely to counterfete the brid,
And feynis mony a suete and strange note,
  That in the busk for his desate is hid,
Till sche be fast lok in his net amyd,
  Rycht so the satoure,* the false theif, I say,
  With suete treason oft wynith thus his pray.

XIII.

Fy on all such ! fy on thaire doubilnesse !
  Fy on thaire lust, and bestly appetite !
Thaire wolfis hertis, in lambis liknesse ;
  Thaire thoughtis blak, hid vnder words quhite :
Fy on thaire labour ! fy on thaire delyte !
  That feynen outward all to hir honour,
  And in thair hert her worship wold deuour.

XIV.

So hard it is to trusten now on dayes
  The warld, it is so double and inconstant,
Off quhich the suth is hid be mony assayes ;
  More pitee is ; for quhich the remanant
That menen well, and are not variant,
  For otheris gilt are suspect of vntreuth,
  And hyndrit oft, and treuely that is reuth.

XV.

Bot gif the hert be groundit ferm and stable
  In Goddis law thy purpose to atteyne,
Thy labour is to me agreable,
  And my full help with counsele trew and pleyne,
I will the schewe, and this is the certeyne ;
  Opyn thy hert, therefore, and lat me see
  Gif thy remede be pertynent to me.

* The lustful person.

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XVI.

Madame, quoth I, sen it is zour plesance
That I declare the kynd of my loving,
Treuely and gude, withoutin variance,
I lufe that flour abufe all other thing,
And wold, bene he, that to hir worschipping
Mycht ought availe, be *him* that *starf on rude*, *
And nowthir spare for trauaile, lyfe, nor gude.

XVII.

And, forthirmore, at touching the nature
Off my lufing, to worschip or to blame,
I darre wele say, and therein me assure,
For ony gold that ony wight can name,
Wald I be he that suld of hir gude fame
Be blamischere in ony point or wyse,
For wele nor wo, quhill my lyfe may suffise.

XVIII.

This is the effect trewly of myn entent,
Touching the suete that smertis me so sore,
Giff this be faynt, I can it not repent,
Allthough my lyf suld forfaut be therefore:
Blisfull princesse! I can seye zou no more,
Bot so desire, my wittis dooth compace
More joy in erth, kepe I nocht bot zour grace.

XIX.

Desire, quoth sche, I nyl it not deny,
So thou it ground and set in cristin wise;
And therefore, son, opyn thy hert playnly.
Madame, quoth I, trew withoutin fantise,
That day sall I neuer vp rise,
For my delyte to couate the plesance
That may hir worschip putten in balance.

* That died on the cross.

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XX.

For our all thing,* lo this were my gladnesse,
To sene the fresche beautee of hir face;
And gif it mycht deserue be processe,†
For my grete lufe and treuth to stond in grace,
Hir worschip sauf, lo here the blisfull cace
That I wold ask, and thereto attend,
For my most joye vnto my lyfis end.

XXI.

Now wele, quoth sche, and sen that it is so,
That in vertew thy lufe is set with treuth,
To helpen the I will be one of tho
From hensforth, and hertly without sleuth,
Off thy distresse and excesse to have reuth,
That has thy hert, I will pray full faire,
That fortune be no more thereto contraire.

XXII.

For suth it is that all creatures,
Quhich vnder vs beneth have zour dwellyng,
Ressauen diuersely zour auenturis,‡
Off quhich the cure and principal melling
Apperit is withoutin repellyng,
Onely to hir that has the cuttis two
In hand, both of zour wele and of your wo.

XXIII.

And how so be that sum clerkis trete,
That zour chance causit is tofore,
Heigh in the hevin, § by quhois effectis grete,
Ze movit are to wrething les or more,
Quhare in the warld, thus calling that therefore,
Fortune, and so that the diversitee
Off thaire werking suld cause necessitee.

* Over or above all things. † In process of time.
‡ Your destiny control. § Your life and fortune are preordained in heaven.

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XXIV.

Bot other clerkis halden that the man,
Has in himself the chose and libertee
To cause his awin fortune, how, or quhan,
That him best lest, and no necessitee
Was in the hevin at his nativitee;
Bot zit the thingis happin in qmune,
Efter purpose, so cleping thame fortune.

XXV.

And quhare a persone has tofore knawing
Off it that is to fall purposely,
Lo fortune if bot wayke in such a thing,
Thou may wele wit, and here ensample quhy,
To *God* it is the first cause onely
Of euery thing, there may no fortune fall,
And quhy? for *he* foreknawin is of all.

XXVI.

And therefore thus I say to this sentence,
Fortune is most and strangest euermore,
Quhare, leste foreknawing or intelligence
Is in the man, and *sone* of wit or lore,
Sen thou art wayke and feble, lo, therefore,
The more thou art in dangere, and qmune
With hir, that clerkis clepen so *Fortune*.

XXVII.

But for the sake, and at the reuerence
Off Venus clere, as I the said tofore,
I have of thy distresse compacience,
And in confort and relesche of thy sore,
The schewit here myn avise therefore,
Pray fortune help; for suich vnlikely thing
Full oft about sche sodeynly dooth bring.

XXVIII.

Now go thy way, and haue gude mynd upon
Quhat I have said, in way of thy doctrine:

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I sall, Madame, quoth I, and rycht anon
I tuke my leve, als straught as ony line
Within a beme, that fro the contree dyvine,
Sche percyng throw the firmament extendit,
To ground ageyne my spirit is descendit.

CANTO V.

[The poet finds himself in a beautiful plain, through which flows a lovely stream, its banks adorned with fragrant flowers, and embowered by umbrageous trees bearing delicious fruit. Conducted by Good Hope, he reaches the dwelling of the Goddess of Fortune, whose eventful wheel is ingeniously portrayed. Apprised of his wishes, the goddess comforts him with the hope of a favourable change. Then placing him on her wheel, she seizes him so firmly by the ear that he awakes from his dream.]

I.

Quhare in a lusty* plane tuke I my way,
Endlang a ruer,† plesand to behold,
Enbroudin all with fresche flouris gay,
Quhare throu the grauel, brycht as ony gold,
The cristal water ran so clere and cold,
That in myn ere, maid contynualy,
A maner soun mellit with armony.‡

II.

That full of lytill fischis by the brim,
Now here now there, with bakkis blewe as lede,
Lap and playit, and in a rout can swym
So prattily, and dressit thame to sprede
Thaire curall fynis, as the ruby rede,
That in the sonne on thaire scalis brycht,
As gesserant§ ay glitterit in my sight.

III.

And by this ilke ryuer syde alawe
Ane hyeway fand I like to bene,

* Pleasant.
† Along the side of a river.
‡ A pleasant sound mixed with harmony.
§ Like some precious stone.

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On quhich, on euery syde, a long rawe
Off trees saw I full of levis grene,
That full of fruyte delitable were to sene;
And also, as it come vnto my mynd,
Of bestis sawe I mony diuerse kynd.

IV.

The lyon king and his fere* lyonesse,
The pantere like vnto the smaragdyne,†
The lytill squerell full of besynesse,‡
The slawe asse, the druggare beste of pyne,
The nyce§ ape, the werely porpapyne,‖
The percyng lynx, the lufare¶ vnicorn,
That voidis venym with his euoure horne.

V.

There saw I dresse him, new out of hant,
The fere tigere full of felony,
The dromydare, the stander oliphant,**
The wyly fox, the wedouis inemye,
The clymbare gayte, the elk for alblastrye,
The herknere bore, the holsum grey for hortis,
The haire also, that oft gooth to the hortis.

VI.

The bugill draware †† by his hornis grete.
The martrik sable,‡‡ the foynzee,§§ and mony mo,
The chalk quhite ermyn, tippit as the jete,
The riall hert, the conyng, and the ro,
The wolf, that of the murthir not say ho,
The lesty‖‖ beuer, and the ravin bare,¶¶
For chamelot, the camel full of hare.

VII.

With many ane othir beste diverse and strange,
That cummyth not as now vnto my mynd;

* Fierce. † Emerald, or stone of a green colour. ‡ Motion.
§ Cunning. ‖ Warlike porcupine. ¶ More loving.
** The elephant, that always stands. †† The stag. ‡‡ The sable martin.
§§ The fawn. ‖‖ Plump. ¶¶ Ravenous bear.

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Bot now to purpose straught furth the range,
I held away oure hailing in my mynd,
From quhens I come, and quhare that I suld fynd
Fortune, the goddesse unto quhom in hye
Gude hope, my *gyde*, has led me sodeynly.

VIII.

And at the last behalding thus asyde,
A round place wallit have I found,
In myddis quhare eftsone I have spide
Fortune, the *goddesse*, husing * on the ground,
And rycht befor hir fete, of compas round,
A *quhele*, on quhich clevering I sye
A multitude of folk before myn eye.†

IX.

And ane surcote sche werit long that tyde,
That semyt to me of diverse hewis,
Quhilum thus, quhen sche wald turn asyde,
Stude this goddess of fortune askewis.
A chapellet with mony fresche anewis ‡
Sche had upon hir hede, and with this hong
A mantill on her schuldries large and long.

X.

That furrit was with ermyn full quhite,
Degontit with the self in spottis blake,
And quhilum in hir chere thus alyte
Louring sche was, and thus sone it would slake,
And sodeynly a maner § smylyng make
And sche were glad, at one contenance
Sche held not, bot ay in variance.

XI.

And vnderneth the quhele sawe I there
An vgly pit, depe as ony helle,

* Dwelling.
‡ Flowers.
† A wheel on which I saw a multitude clambering.
§ Pleasant.

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That to behald thereon I quoke for fere;
Bot a thing herd I, that quho therein fell,
Come no more vp agane tidingis to telle;
Off quhich, astonait of that ferefull sycht,
I ne wist quhat to done, so was I fricht.

XII.

Bot for to se the sudayn weltering
Of that ilk quhele that sloppare* was to hold,
It semyt vnto my wit a strong thing,
So mony I sawe that than clumben wold,
And failit foting, and to ground were rold,
And othir eke that sat above on hye,
Were overthrawe in twinklyng of ane eye.

XIII.

And on the quhele was lytill void space,
Wele nere oure straught fro lawe to hye,
And they were ware that long sat in place,
So tolter quhilum did sche it to wreye,
There was bot clymbe and rycht downward hye,
And sum were eke that fallyng had sore,
There for to clymbe, thair corage was no more.

XIV.

I saw also, that quhere sum were flungin,
Be quhirlyng of the quhele vnto the ground,
Full sudaynly sche hath vp ythrungin,†
And set theme on agane full sauf and sound,
And ever I sawe a new swarm abound,
That to clymbe vpward upon the quhele,
Instead of thame that mycht no longer rele,

XV.

And at the last, in presence of thame all
That stude about, sche clepit me be name,
And therewith upon kneis gan I fall
Full sodaynly hailsing,‡ abaist for schame;
And, smylyng thus, sche said to me in game,

* Slippery. † Thrown up. ‡ Saluting.

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Quhat dois thou here? quho has the hider sent?
Say on anon, and tell me thyne entent.

XVI.

I se wele, by thy chere and contenance,
There is sum thing that lyis the on hert,
It stant not with the as thou wald perchance.
Madame, quoth I, for lufe is all the smert
That euer I fele endlang and ouerthwert;
Help of zour grace me wofull wrechet wight,
Sen me to cure ze powere have and myght.

XVII.

Quhat help, quoth sche, wold thou that I ordeyne,
To bring the vnto thy hertis desire?
Madame, quoth I, bot that zour grace dedyne,*
Of zour grete mycht, my wittis to inspire,
To win the *well*, that slokin may the fyre
In quhich I birn: Ah, goddess fortunate!
Help now my game that is in poynt to mate.†

XVIII.

Off mate, quoth sche, a verray sely wretch
I se wele, by thy dedely coloure pale,
Thou art to feble of thyself to streche
Vpon my quhele, to clymbe or to hale,
Withoutin help, for thou has fund in stale ‡
This mony day withoutin werdis wele,
And wantis now thy veray hertis hele.

XIX.

Wele maistow be a wretchit man callit,
That wantis the confort that suld thy hert glade,
And has all thing within thy hert stallit,§
That may thy zouth oppressen or defade;
Though thy begynyng hath bene retrograde,
Be froward opposyt quhare till aspert, ||
Now sall thai turn, and luke on the dert.

* Deign. † To be overcome. ‡ Been long in ward.
§ Kept. || Take the opposite part, so shall thy misfortunes take a turn.

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XX.

And therewith all vnto the quhele in hye
Sche hath me led, and bade me lere to clymbe,
Vpon the quhich I steppit sudaynly;
Now hald thy grippis, quoth sche, for thy tyme,
An houre and more it rynis ouer prime *
To count the hole, the half is nere away;
Spend wele, therefore, the remanant of the day.

XXI.

Ensample (quoth sche) tak of this tofore,
That fro my quhele be rollit as a ball,
For the nature of it is euermore
After ane hicht to vale, and geve a fall,
Thus quhen me likith vp or down to fall.
Farewele, quoth sche, and by the ere me toke
So ernestly, that therewith all I woke.

CANTO VI.

[Awaking from his dream, the royal poet is more troubled than before, since his hope of comfort had proved baseless. In his misery, a white dove, the bird of Venus, alights upon his hand, bearing a branch of flowers, on the leaves of which, in letters of gold, are inscribed tidings that his cure was heaven-decreed. Attaching the token to his bed, he found it a true omen by his attaining the favour of his mistress. In defence of his writing so long a poem, he asserts the importance of his theme, while he recommends all love-sick swains to the care of Venus. To reckon all the circumstances of his courtship would be tedious; it is sufficient that his fair one had removed his sorrow. He blesses the gods, and all that have contributed to his relief, and gently recommends his poem to the reader, and to the spirit of his masters, Gower and Chaucer.]

I.

O besy goste,† ay flikering to and fro,
That never art in quiet nor in rest,

* From six in the morning till nine was anciently called *spatium orationum primarum*, or the hour of prime.

† Busy, restless spirit.

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Till thou cum to that place that thou cam fro,
Quhich is thy first and verray proper nest;
From day to day so sore here artow drest,
That with thy flesche ay walking art in trouble,
And sleping eke of pyne, so hast thou double.

II.

Couert myself* all this mene I to loke,
Thought that my spirit vexit was tofore,
In suenyng,† assone as ever I woke,
By XX fold it was in trouble more,
Be thinking me with sighing hert and sore,
That nane other thingis bot dremes had,
Nor sekernes my spirit with to glad.

III.

And therewith sone I dressit ‡ me to ryse,
Fulfild of thought, pyne, and aduersitee,
And to myself I said in this wise,
Quhat lyf is this? quhare hath my spirit be?
A! merci, Lord! quhat will ze ḍo with me?
Is this of my forethought impression?
Or is it from the hevin a vision?

IV.

And gif ze goddis of zoure purviance §
Have schewit this for my reconforting,
In relesche of my furiouse penance,
I zow beseke full truely of this thing,
That of zour grace I mycht have more takenyng,‖
Gif it sal be, as in my slepe before
Ze schewit have: and forth withoutin more.

V.

In hye vnto the wyndow gan I walk,
Moving within my spirit of this sight,

* Within myself. † In dreaming. ‡ Prepared.
§ Prescience. ‖ A further token.

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Quhare sodeynly a *turture, quhite as calk,*
So evinly vpon my hand gan lycht,
And vnto me sche turnyt hir full rycht,
Off quham the chere in hir birdis assort
Gave me in hert kalendis of confort.*

VI.

This fair bird rycht in her bill gan hold
Of *red jeroffleris*, with thair *stalkis grene,*
A fair branche, quhare *written* was *with gold,*
On euery lefe, wicht branchis brycht and schene,
In compas fair full plesandly to sene,
A *plane sentence*, quhich, as I can deuise
And have in mynd, said rycht on this wise.

VII.

Awake! awake! I bring lufar, I bring
The newis glad, that blissfull ben and sure
Of thy confort; now lauch, and play, and sing,
That art besid † so glad an auenture:
Fore in the hevyn decretit is ye cure:
And vnto me the flouris fair did present;
With wyngis spred hir wayis furth sche went.

VIII.

Quhilk vp anon I tuke, and as I gesse,
Ane hundreth tymes, or I forthir went,
I have it red, with hertfull glaidnesse,
And half with hope and half with dred it hent,‡
And at my beddis hed, with gud entent,
I have it fair pynit vp, and this
First takyn was of all my help and blisse.

IX.

The quhich treuly efter day be day,
That all my wittis maistrit had tofore,

* A dawn of hope. † Near. ‡ Kept.

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Quhich he offerth, the paynis did away,
And schortly so wele fortune has hir bore,
To quhomkin treuly day by day, my lore *
To my larges, that I am cum agayn
To blisse with hir that is my sovirane.

X.

Bot for als moche as sum micht think or seyne,
Quhat nedis me, apoun so lytill evyn,†
To writt all this? I ansuere thus ageyne;
Quho that from hell war coppin onys in hevin,‡
Wald efter thank for joy, mak VI. or VII.;
And euery wicht his awin suete or sore,
Has maist in mynde, I can say zou no more.

XI.

Eke quho may in this lyfe have more plesance,
Than cum to largesse from thraldom and peyne?
And by the mene of luffis ordinance,
That has so mony in his golden cheyne,
Quhich this to wyn his hertis souereyne,
Quho suld me wite § to write to tharof, lat se;
Now sufficiance is my felicitee.

XII.

Beseeching vnto fair Venus abufe,
For all my brethir that bene in this place,
This is to seyne yat seruandis ar to lufe,
And of his lady can no thank purchase,
His pane relesch, and sone to stand in grace,
Both to his worschip and to his first ese,
So that it hir and resoun not displease.

XIII.

And eke for thame yat ar not entrit inne
The dance of lyfe, bot thither-wart on way,

* My lore to my larges; I will exert my wit.
† Upon so small an event.
‡ Were from hell raised to the top of bliss in heaven.
§ Blame.

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In gude tyme and sely to begynne.
For thame that passit bene the mony affray,
Thair prentisshed, and forthirmore I pray
In lufe, and cumyng ar to full plesance,
To graunt thame all, lo gude perseuerance.

XIV.

And eke I pray for all the hertis dull,
That lyven here in sleuth and ignorance,
And has no curage at the rose to pull,
Thair lyf to mynd and thair saulis auance,
With thair suete lore, and bring thame to gude chance,
And quho that will not for this prayer turn,
Quhen thai wald faynest speid, that yai may spurn.

XV.

To rekyn of every thing the circumstance,
As happint me quhen lessern gan my sore,
Of my rancoure and wofull chance,
It war too long, I lat it be tharefore,
And thus *this floure*, I can seye no more,
So hertly has vnto my help actendit,
That from the deth hir man sche has defendit.

XVI.

And eke the goddis mercifull virking,
For my long pane, and trew service in lufe,
That has me gevin halely myne asking,
Quhich has my hert for ever set abufe
In perfyte joye, that never may remufe,
Bot onely deth, of quhom in land and prise,
With thankfull hert I say richt in this wise.

XVII.

Blissit mot be the goddis all,
So fair that glateren in the firmament!
And blissit be thaire mycht celestiall,
That have conuoyit hale with one assent,
My lufe, and to glade a consequent!

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And thankit be Fortunys exiltre,
And quhele, that thus so wele has quhirlit me.

XVIII.

Thankit mot be, and fair and lufe befall
The nychtingale, yat with so gud entent
Sang thare of lufe, the notis suete and small,
Quhair my fair hertis lady was present,
Hir with to glad, or that sche forthir went;
And thou gerafloure, mot I thankit be
All other flouris for the lufe of ye.

XIX.

And thankit be the fair castell wall,
Quhare as I quhilom lukit furth and lent,
Thankit mot be the sanctis merciall,
That me first causit hath this accident:
Thankit mot be the grene bewis bent,
Throu quhom and vnder first fortunynt me,
My hertis hele and my confort to be.

XX.

For to the presence suete and delitable,
Rycht of *this floure* yat full is of plesance,
By processe and by menys favourable,
First of ye blisful goddis purveyance,
And syne throu long and trewe contynance
Of veray faith in lufe and trew service,
I cum am, and forthir in this wise.

XXI.

Vnworthy lo bot onely of hir grace,
In lufis rok, that esy is and sure,
In guerdoun of all my lufis space
Sche hath me tak, hir humble creature,
And thus befell my blisfull auenture,
In zouth of lufe, that now from day to day
Flourith ay newe, and zit forther I say.

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XXII.

Go litill tretise, nakit of eloquence,
Causing simpless and pouertee to wit,
And pray the reder to have pacience
Of thy defaute, and to supporten it,
Of his gudnesse thy brukilnesse to knytt,
And his tong for to reule and to stere,
That thy defautis helit may bene here.

XXIII.

Allace! and gif thou cumyst in the presence,
Quhare as of blame faynest thou wald be quite,
To here thy rude and crukit eloquens,
Quho sal be there to pray for thy remyt?
No wicht bot gif hir merci will admyt
The for gud will, that is thy gyd and stere,
To quham for me thou piteousely requere.

XXIV.

And thus endith the fatall influence,
Causit from hevyn quhare powar is comytt,
Of govirnance, by the magnificence
Of him that hiest in the hevin sitt.
To quham we think that all oure hath writt,
Quho coutht it red agone syne mony a zere,
Hich in the hevynis figure circulere.

XXV.

Vnto impnis of my maisteris dere,
Gowere and *Chaucere*, that on the steppis satt
Of rethorike, quhill thai were lyvand here,
Superlatiue as poetis laureate,
In moralitee and eloquence ornate,
I recommend my buk in lynis seven,
And eke thair saulis vnto the blisse of hevin.

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SANG ON ABSENCE.

Sen that the eyne, that workis my weilfair,
Dois no moir on me glance,
A thousand sichis with suelting sobbis sair,
Dois threw my bowels lance.
I thi yairning;
I leif pyning;
Woe dois encres;
I wex witles.
O sindering! O woful doleance!

The day quhenas the fair pairtit me fra,
Plesour me left also.
Quhen that from hir I sinderit wes away;
Mischance me hint but ho.
I waxit wan
The same hom than,
Sorow sensyne
Dois still me pyne.
O that *gud nicht* hes causit mekil wo!

Evin as men may the turtil trew persait,
Once having lost hir feir,
On the dry brainche, ay faithful to the graif,
Bewayling perseveir;
So my desyre,
Kindlit in fyre,
Dois soir lament
My luif absent.
O God, gif amour be ane paine to beir!

Never in somer the hart canicular day,
So hote with beamis brint,
As dois that fyre quhilk me devoring ay,
Hes saul and body tint.

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And never a dairt
So perced my hairt
As dois the bowt
Quhilk luif me schot.
O Cupid, gif bitter be thy dint!

As he that swimmis, the moir he ettil fast,
And to the schoire intend,
The moir his febil frine, throw windis blast,
Is bakwart maid to wend;
So wars be day
My greif growis ay.
The moir I am hurte
The moir I sturte.
O cruel Love, bot deid thou hes none end!

The faithful messinger, quhilk is the nicht
To luifars langerous,
Augments my woe, and als the dayis licht
Maks me more dolorous.
The day I dwyne,
The nicht I pyne;
Evin eikis my sorow
Wors then the morow.
O God, in love gif be malhourous.

And gif that neid to slumber me constraine,
Faint throuch melancolie,
Unrest dois [quickly] walkin me again
To muse miseris.
Quhatevir chance
Dois me outrance
Saif fals thinking
In sueit dreming.
O dreame maist sueit, gif it war not a lie!

In cairful bed full oft, in myne intent,
To twitche I do appear,
Now syde, now breist, now sueit mow redolent
Of that sueit bodye deir.

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I stretch my hand
In vain ernand;
My luif is far,
And not found nar,
O scorne of luifars, Cupid blind art heir!

Syne quhen the morning (with hir mantil grein)
Opinis the dayis face
With Phebus licht the cairful thochtis dein
Renewis thair woful race,
My fyrie raige
Dois then aggrage;
My soir torment
Does mair unquent.
O gif absence be paine in luifis caice!

So mony starris ar nocht in nichtis sein;
Nor in drawing colouris;
Nor scipping froggis, amid the medow grein
As I thocht of dolouris.
Nay upon nay
Marks to destroy
My woful lyfe
Fechting in stryfe.
O gif unhap be found in paramouris!

The day befoir the suddane nichtis chaice,
Dois not so swiftlie go,
Nor hare befoir the ernand grewhound's face
With speid is careit so;
As I, with paine,
For luif of ane,
Without remeid,
Rin to the deid.
O God, gif deid be end of mekil woe!

O goddis hiche! gif in the hevin be found
Sum band of amitie,
I you beseik be movit with my wound,
And have sum just pitie.

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My proper lyfe
I hate as stryfe,
I me forsaik
For other's saik.
O gif luif causis strange inamitie!

Ha now, my muse! my song and my cair,
Leif of thy lamenting,
Ceis to complaine of mischap ony mair,
End now. I ceis to sing.
He that can plaine
Dois thoill leist paine,
Soir ar the hairtis,
But playnt that smartis.
Silence to dolour is ane nourisching.

PEEBLES TO THE PLAY.

At Beltane* when ilk body bounis
To Peebles to the play
To hear the singin' and the soundis
The solace, sooth to say,
By firth, and forest, furth they foun';†
They graithit them fu' gay,
God wot, what wald they do that stoun',‡
For it was their feast day,
They said,
Of Peebles to the play.

* The first day of May was called *Beltane* or *Beltan*, owing to the ceremonies observed on that day by the ancient inhabitants of Britain, who then kindled fires on the hill-tops in honour of Baal, the god of fire, their chief deity. With the progress of Christianity, the superstitious usage disappeared, but certain festive customs observed on the occasion were long continued in different localities. Peebles was formerly a chief centre or headquarters of the Beltane sports.

† Went. ‡ Occasion.

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All the wenches of the west
Were up ere the cock crew,
For reeling there might nae man rest,
For garray and for glew;*
One said, my curches† are not press'd,
Then answer'd Meg, fu' blue,
To get a hood I hald it best;
By God's saul that is true,
Quoth she,
Of Peebles to the play.

She took the tippet by the end,
To let it hang she leit‡ not,
Quoth he, thy back shall bear ane bend;
In faith, quoth she, we meit not.
She was so gucket and so gend,§
That day a bit she eat not;
Then spak her fallow, that her kend,
Be still, my joy, and greet not,
Now,
Of Peebles to the play.

Ever, alas, then said she,
Am I not clearly tynt,
I dare not come yon market to,
I am so ill sun-brynt:
Among yon merchands my duds do,
Marie I sall ance mynt,
Stand off far, and keik them to,
As I at hame was wont,
Quoth she.
Of Peebles to the play.

Hope, Kailyie, and Cardrona,‖
Gather it out thick-fauld,
With hey, and how, rohumbelow,¶
The young folk were fu' bauld:

* Talk and glee. † Head-covering. ‡ Allowed. § Foolish and wild.
‖ Places on the Tweed below Peebles.
¶ The burden of an early Scottish ballad.

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The bag-pipe blew, and they out-threw,
Out of the towns untauld;
Lord! sic ane shout was them amang,
When they were ower the wald,
There west,
Of Peebles to the play.

Ane young man stert into that steid,
As cant as ony colt,
Ane birken hat upon his head
With ane bow, and ane bolt;
Said, Merry maidens, think not lang,
The weather is fair and smolt.
He cleekit up ane hie ruf sang,
"Thair fure ane man to the holt," *
Quoth he,
Of Peebles to the play.

They had not gane half of the gait
When the maidens came upo' them,
Ilk ane man gae his conceit,
How that they wad dispone them:
Ane said, the fairest falls to me,
Tak ye the lave and fond' them.
Anither said, Waes me! let be,
On Tweddell side, and on them,
Swith,
Of Peebles to the play.

Then he to gae, and she to gae,
And ne'er ane bade abide you:
One winklot fell, and her tail up—
Wow! quoth Malkin, hide you;
What neidis you to maik it sae?
Yon man will not ower-ride you.
Are ye ower gude, quoth she, I say,
To let them gang beside you,
Yonder,
Of Peebles to the play.

* "There went a man to the wood"—apparently the first line of a song.

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Then they cam to the town's end,
Withouten more delay;
He before, and she before,
To see wha was maist gay:
All that lookit them upon
Leugh fast at their array;
Some said that they were mercat folk;
Some said the Queen of May
Wast comit,
Of Peebles to the play.

Then they to the tavern-house
With meikle oly prance;
Ane spak wi' words wonder crouse,
A done with ane mischance!
Braid* up the buird (he "hydis,"† tyt),
We are all in ane trance,
See that our napery be white,
For we will dine and dance,
There out,
Of Peebles to the play.

Aye as the gudewife brought in
Ane scorit upon the wauch.‡
Ane bade pay, another said nay,
Bide while we reckon our lauch.§
The gudewife said, Have ye nae dread,
Ye sall pay that ye "auch."‖
Ane young man stert upon his feet,
And he began to lauch,¶
For heyden,
Of Peebles to the play.

He gat ane trencher in his hand,
And he began to count:
Ilk man twa and ane happenny,
To pay thus we were wont.

* Fold up leaves of the table. † He hastens to do it. ‡ Wall.
§ Reckoning. ‖ Owe. ¶ Scorn.

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Ane other stert upon his feet,
And said, thou art ower blunt,
To tak sic office upon hand;
By G—d thou 'servit ane dunt
Of me,
Of Peebles to the play.

Ane dunt! quoth he, what devil is that?
By G—d thou dar not do't,
He stert till ane broggit staff,
Winchand as he were wud.*
All that house was in ane reird,†
Ane cryit, The haly rude!‡
Help us, Lord, upon this yird
That there be spilt nae blude,
Herein,
Of Peebles to the play.

They thrang out of the door at anes,
Withouten ony reddin;
Gilbert in a gutter glaid,
He gat nae better beddin.
There was not ane of them that day
Wad do ane ither's biddin;
Thereby lay three and thretty, some
Trundlind in a middin
Of draff,
Of Peebles to the play.

Ane cadger on the mercat-gait
Heard their bargain begin;
He gave ane shout, his wife came out,
Scantly she might o'erhie him:
He held, she drew; for dust that day,
Might no man see a styme,
To redd them,
Of Peebles to the play.

* Stamping as he were mad. † Uproar.

‡‡ A cross of great sanctity was preserved in the church of the Trinity Friars Monastery at Peebles.

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He stertit to his great grey meir,
And off he tumblit the creils;
Alas, quoth she, hald our gude man;
And on her knees she kneels.
Abide, quoth she; why, nay, quoth he;
Intill his stirups he leapt,
The girthin brak, and he fell aff,
And up stert baith his heills,
At anes,
Of Peebles to the play.

His wife cam out, and gave ane shout,
And by the foot she gat him,
And all be dirten drew him out;
Lord G—d! right weel that sat him!
He said, where is yon cullion knave?
Quoth she, I reed ye lat him
Gang hame his gaitis. By G—d, quoth he,
I shall anes have at him,
Yet,
Of Peebles to the play.

You fyl'd me, fie for shame, quoth she,
See as you have drest me;
How felt you, sir, as the girdin brak
What mickle devil may lest me;
I wat not weel what it was,
My ain grey meir, that kest * me,
Or gif I was forfochen-faint,
And syne laid doun to rest me,
Yonder,
Of Peebles to the play.

By that the bargain was all play'd,
The strings stert out of their nocks; †
Sevinsome, that the tulyie made,
Lay gruffling in the stocks.
John Nickson of the Nether ward ‡

* Threw. † Notches. ‡ Lower Ward of Lanarkshire.

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Had lever have given ane ox,
Or he had come in that companie
He swore by Goddisocks,
And mannis baith,
Of Peebles to the play.

With that, Will Swain came sweitand out,
Ane mickle miller man;
Gif I sall dance, have done, let see,
Blaw up the bagpipe than:
The schawman's dance I maun begin,
I trow it sall not pain;*
So heavily he hochit about,
To see him, lord! as they ran,
That tide,
Of Peebles to the play.

They gatherit out of the toun,
An nearer till him dreuch;
Ane bade gie the dancers room,
Will Swain maks wonder teuch.
Then all the wenches "Tehee" they cryit;
But Lord, as Will Young leuch;
Gude gossip come hyn your gaitis, †
For we have danced aneuch,
At anes,
At Peebles at the play.

So fiercely fire-het was the day,
His face began to freckle;
Then Tibby took him by the hand,
Was new come frae the heckle;
Alas, quoth she, what shall I do?
And our door has nae steckle,
And she to gae as her tail brynt,
And all the carles to heckle,
At her,
Of Peebles to the play.

* Go slowly. † Come home your ways—come the road you have to go.

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The piper said, Now I begin,
To tire, for playin to you,
But yet have I gotten naething,
For all my pipin' to you;
Three happennies for half a day,
And that will not undo you:
And if ye will give me richt nought,
The mickle deil gang wi' you,
Quoth he,
Of Peebles to the play.

By that, the dancin was all done,
Their leave took less and mair,
When the winklots * and the wooers twin'd
To see it was heart-sair.
Wat Atken said to fair Alice,
My bird now will I fare: †
The deil a word that she might speak,
But swoonit that sweet of swair, ‡
For kindness,
Of Peebles to the play.

He fippit like ane featherless fowl,
And said, Be still, my sweet thing;
By the haly rood of Peebles,
I may not rest for greeting:
He whistlit and he pipit baith,
To mak her blyth that meeting:
My bonnie heart, how says the sang?
"There sall be mirth at our meeting,"
Yet,
Of Peebles to the play.

By that the sun was setting fast,
And near done was the day;
There men might hear shukin of chafts,
When that they went their way.

* Wenches. † Go. ‡ Neck.

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Had there been mair made of this sang,
Mair sould I to you say:
At Beltan when ilka bodie bounes
To Peebles to the play.

CHRISTIS KIRK ON THE GRENE.

Was nevir in Scotland heard nor sene
Sic dancing nor deray, *
Nouthir at Falkland † on the Grene,
Nor Peebles at the Play;
As wes of wowaris as I ween
At Christis-Kirk on ane day;
Thair cam our kitties weshen cleane,
In thair new kirtillis ‡ of grey,
Full gay,
At Christis-Kirk on the grene that day.

To dans thir damysellis § them dicht,‖
Thir lasses licht of laitis; ¶
Their gluvis wer of the raffel ** rycht,
Their shune wer of the straitis,††
Their kirtillis wer of lyncome licht,‡‡
Weil prest wi mony plaitis;
They wer sa nyss §§ quhen men thame nicht ‖‖
They squelit like ony gaitis,¶¶
Sa loud,
At Christis-Kirk on the grene that day.

* Revelry.

† Falkland is situated on the north side of the Lomond Hills, in Fifeshire. By the forfeiture of the Duke of Albany, Falkland Castle fell to the Crown, and was formally annexed by a statute of James II. in 1455. From this time, it became a royal residence. The palace of Falkland continued habitable till the beginning of the last century.

‡ Upper garments. § Damsels. ‖ Made ready.
¶ Nimble-jointed, light-heeled. ** Roe-skin. †† Kersey, coarse woollen cloth.
‡‡ A mixture of linen and wool, called linsey-woolsey. §§ Shy, skittish.
‖‖ Approached. ¶¶ They screamed like goats.

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Of all thir madynis myld as meid,*
Wes nene sa gymp † as Gillie ; ‡
As ony rose hir rude § wes reid,
Her lyre || wes lyk the lillie ;
Fow yellow, yellow wes hir heid,
Bot she of luve wes sillie ; ¶
Tho' a hir kin had sworn hir deid,**
Scho wald haif bot swet Willie,
Alane,
At Christis-Kirk on the grene that day.

Scho scornit Jok and skrapit †† at him,
And murgeon'd ‡‡ him wi' mokkis,
He wald haif luvit, scho wald not lat him,
For all his yellow lokkis ;
He chereist her, scho bad gae chat §§ him,
Scho compit him not twa clokkis ||||
Sa schamefully his short goun set him, ¶¶
His lymis wer lyk twa rokkis,***
Scho said,
At Christis-Kirk on the grene that day.

Tam Lutar wes thair menstral meit,
O Lord, as he could lanss, †††
He playit sa schill, ‡‡‡ and sang sa sweit,
Quhile Tousy §§§ tuke a transs ; ||||
Old Lightfute thair he did forleit, ¶¶¶
And counterfutted Franss,****

* Mead ; a fermented liquor composed of honey and water.
† Neat, handsome. ‡ A name applied to any woman. § Complexion.
|| Neck, bosom. ¶ Happy. ** Had doomed her to death.
†† Made a contemptuous gesture by drawing her right foot repeatedly against the ground.
‡‡ Made mouths at him. §§ To the gallows.
|||| She valued him not two clocks or beetles.
¶¶¶ A short cloak was worn by the men of that age ; it continued in use till the Restoration, in 1660.
*** Two distaffs ; spindle shanks. ††† To skip or leap.
‡‡‡ Shrill. §§§ A rough fellow. |||| A dance or hop.
¶¶¶¶ Tousy scorned to dance like old Lightfoot, in the Scottish fashion.
**** Attempted to dance in the French fashion.

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He used himself as man discreit,
And up tuke moreiss danss,*
Full loud,
At Christis-Kirk on the grene that day.

Then Steven cam steppand in with stendis,†
Na rynk ‡ mycht him arreist,
Platefute he bobit up with bendis,
For Mald he made request:
He lap § tyl he lay on his lendis;‖
But rysand he wes preist,¶
Quhile that he hostit,** at bayth endis,
For honour of the feist,
That day,
At Christis-Kirk on the grene that day.

Syne Robene Roy begouth to revell;††
And Dowsy till him druggit,‡‡
Let be, quo Jok, and caw'd him javell,§§
And be the tail him tuggit;
The kensie‖‖ cleiket to the cavell,¶¶
But lord! than how they luggit,***
They partit, manly with a nevell;
God wart gif hair was ruggit,
Betwix thame,
At Christis-Kirk on the grene that day.

Ane bent a bow, sic sturt††† could steir‡‡‡ him,
Great skayth wes'd to have scard him;§§§
He chesit a flane as did affeir him;‖‖‖
The toder said dirdum dardum;¶¶¶

* The moresque or Moorish dance was, before the age of Henry VII., common both in England and in Scotland.

† Strides. ‡ Fence. § *Lap*, leapt. ‖ Loins.
¶ Oppressed. ** Coughed. †† To be very merry. ‡‡ Dragged.
§§ An expression of contempt. ‖‖ The crusty.
¶¶ Snatched up a cudgel. *** They pulled one another by the ears.
††† Trouble. ‡‡‡ Provoke. §§§ It had been dangerous to hinder him.
‖‖‖ He chose an arrow, as was fitting for his purpose.
¶¶¶ The other, alarmed, shouted blood and murder.

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Throw baith the cheikis he thocht to cheir him,*
Or throw the erss have chard him,†
But be an aker braid ‡ it came not neir him,
I can nocht tell quhat marr'd him,
Thair,
At Christis-Kirk on the grene that day.

With that a freynd of his cryd, Fy!
And up ane arrow drew;
He forgit it sa furiously,§
The bow in flenderis ‖ flew;
Sa wes the will of God, trow I!
For, had the tre ¶ bene trew,
Men said, that kend his archery,
That he had slane enow,
That day,
At Christis-Kirk on the grene.

Ane hasty hensure ** callit Hary,
Quha was an archer heynd,††
Tilt up a taikill withouten tary,‡‡
That torment him sa teynd;§§
I wot not whether his hand could vary,
Or the man was his freynd;
Bot he eschapit through michtis of Mary,‖‖
As man that na ill meynd,
But gude,
At Christis-Kirk on the grene that day.

Then Lowry ¶¶ as ane lyon lap,
And sone a flane can feddir;***
He hecht ††† to perss him at the pap,
Theron to wed a wedder; ‡‡‡

* To pierce him. † Cut him. ‡ Breadth of an acre.
§ He drew his bow so violently. ‖ Splinters.
¶ Wood. ** A giddy young fellow. †† Expert.
‡‡ Snatched up an arrow without delay. §§ Irritated.
‖‖ Through the power of the Virgin Mary.
¶¶ Laurie, the familiar name of Laurence.
*** Soon feathered an arrow. ††† Meant.
‡‡‡ A wedder was the legal forfeiture for not practising archery, Ja. I. Parl. 18.

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He hit him on the wame a wap;*
It buft lyk ony bledder;
But sua his fortune was, and hap,
His doublit wes of ledder;†
And saift him,‡
At Christis-Kirk on the grene that day.

The buff so bousteously abaift him,§
That he to the erd dusht it doun;
The uther for deid then left him,
And fled out of the toun;
The wyves cam furth and up they reft him,‖
And fand lyfe in the loun;¶
And with three routis** they reft him,
And curit him of swoune,††
Fra hand,
At Christis-Kirk on the grene that day.

A yaip‡‡ young man, that stude him neist,
Lous'd aff a schott with yre;
He ettlit the bern in at the breist,§§
The bolt‖‖ flew ow'r the byre;
Ane cried, Fy! he had slane a priest,
A myle beyond ane myre;
Then bow and bag fra him he keist,¶¶
And fled as ferss as fyre
Of flynt,***
At Christis-Kirk on the grene that day.

With forkis and flailis they let greit flappis,
And flang togidder lyk friggis,†††
With bougaris of bernis they beft blew kappis,‡‡‡
Quhyle they of bernis made briggis, §§§

* A blow on the abdomen. † Leather. ‡ Saved.
§ The blow so violently stunned him. ‖ Raised him.
¶ Found life in the rogue. ** Bellows. †† Swoon, stupor.
‡‡ Eager. §§ He tried to shoot the lad in the breast.
‖‖ The shaft. ¶¶ His bow and quiver he threw away.
*** Spark of flint. ††† Stone.
‡‡‡ Rafters of barns beat off blue-caps.
§§§ Made bridges of the lads that fell down.

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The reird* rais rudely with the rappis,
Quhen rungis were layd on riggis;†
The wyffis cam furth, with cryis, and clappis,
Lo! quhair my lyking liggis,‡
Quo thay,
At Christis-Kirk on the grene that day.

They gyrnit, and lait gird with granis,§
Each gossip udir grevit;‖
Some strak with stingis,¶ some gatherit stainis,
Sum fled, and eill eschewit;**
The menstral wan within twa wanis,††
That day, full weill he previt;‡‡
For he cam hame with unbirst bainis,§§
Quhair fechtaris wer mischievit,‖‖
For evir,
At Christis-Kirk on the grene that day.

Heigh Huchoun, with ane hissel ryss,¶¶
To red cam throw thame rummill;***
He muddlit††† thame doun lyk ony myss,
He wes no batie bummil;‡‡‡
Thoch he wes wicht§§§ he wes nocht wyss,
With sic jangleris to jummil,‖‖‖
For fra his thoume they dang a sklyss,¶¶¶
Quhyle he cryed barla-fummill,****
I'm slane,
At Christis-Kirk on the grene that day.

* Noise. † When sticks were laid on their backs.
‡ Lo! where my love lies. § Let drive with strokes.
‖ Each companion hurt his neighbour. ¶ Long poles. ** Avoided.
†† Won within the breadth of two waggons. ‡‡ Proved.
§§ Unbruised bones.
‖‖ *Where fechters were meschevit.* *Fechter*, or fechtar, is from the A.-S. *fechtere*, pugnator.
¶¶ Tall Hutcheson with a hazel rung or sapling.
*** To separate, wrestled or warstled through them.
††† He overturned them.
‡‡‡ No drone or simple fellow. *Batie* is the name of a good natured cur.
§§§ Strong. ‖‖‖ With such wranglers to mix. ¶¶¶ Slice.
**** A word of parley in the ancient tilts.

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Quhen that he saw his blude sa reid,
To fle micht na man lat him;*
He weind it bene for auld done feid;†
He thocht ane cryed, Haif at him,
He gart‡ his feit defend his heid,
The far fairar it set him,§
Quhyle he wes past out of all pleid,‖
He suld bene swift that gat him,
Throw speed,
At Christis-Kirk on the grene that day.

The town soutar¶ in grief wes bowdin,**
His wife hang in his waist;
His body wes with blude all browdin,††
He granit lyk ony gaist;‡‡
His glitterand hair, that was full gowdin,§§
Sa hard in lufe him laist;‖‖
That for hir sake he wes na yowdin,¶¶
Seven myle while he wes chaist,
And mair,
At Christis-Kirk on the grene that day.

The millar wes of manly mak,
To meit him wes na mowis;***
Thai durst not ten cum him to tak,
So nowtit he thair powis;†††
The buschment‡‡‡ haill about him brak,
And bikert§§§ him with bowis,
Syn traytourly behind his back,
They hewit him on the howiss,‖‖‖‖
Behind,
At Christis-Kirk on the grene, that day.

* Stop, hinder. † He imagined it done in retaliation of some former feud.
‡ He caused. § It behoved him better to take to his heels than to fight.
‖ Challenge. ¶ Shoemaker. ** Swelled. †† Besmeared, embroidered.
‡‡ He groaned like any ghost. §§ Gold-coloured, yellow. ‖‖ Laced.
¶¶ Tired. *** No sport. ††† So did he hurt their heads.
‡‡‡ A collection of persons in ambush. §§§ Pelted.
‖‖‖‖ "They hacked him on the howes," that is, they houghed him.

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Twa that wer herdsmen of the herd,
  Ran upon udderis lyk rammis;
Than followit feymen,* richt unaffeir'd,†
  Bet on with barrow trammis‡
But quhen thair gobbis wer ungeird,§
  They gat upon the gammis;‖
Quhyle bludy berkit¶ wes their baird;
  As thay had worreit lammis**
                Maist lyk,
At Christis-Kirk on the grene that day.

The wives kest†† up ane hideous yell,
  When all the younkeris yokkit;‡‡
Als fierss as ony fyr flaughts§§ fell,
  Freiks‖‖ to the field they flokit:
The carlis with clubbis coud udir quell
  Quhyle blude at breistis out bokkit;¶¶
Sa rudely rang the common bell,
  Quhyle all the steipill rokkit,***
                For reid,†††
At Christis-Kirk on the grene that day.

Quhen they had berit,‡‡‡ lyk baitit bullis,
  And branewod, brynt in bailis,§§§
Thay wer als meik as ony mulis,‖‖‖
  That mangit wer with mailis:¶¶¶
For faintness tha forfochin fulis****
  Fell doun lyk flauchter failis;††††

* Foemen. † Undaunted. ‡ The shafts of a hand-barrow.
§ But when their mouths were unshut. ‖ Gums.
¶ While gore-besmeared was their beard. ** Worried lambs.
†† Raised, cast up. ‡‡ The youngsters engaged in strife.
§§ Lightning. ‖‖ Light-headed. ¶¶ Belshed or vomited.
*** Shook. ††† For the noise. ‡‡‡ Brayed, roared.
§§§ And brain-mad, burned in sorrow. ‖‖‖ They grew as meek as any mules.
¶¶¶ That wearied are with mails. **** Over-fought, over-laboured.
†††† Thin sods are pared from the surface by an instrument called a *flauchter spade*.

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And fresch men cam in and hail'd the dulis*
  And dang them down in dailis, †
                Bedene, ‡
At Christis-Kirk on the grene that day.

Quhen all wes done, Dik, with ane aix,
  Cam furth, to fell a fuddir; §
Quod he, quhair ar yon hangit smaicks, ||
  Rycht now, wald slane my bruder; ¶
His wyf bad him ga hame, gib glaiks,**
  And sa did Meg, his muder;
He turnit and gaif them bayth thair paiks; ††
  For he durst ding ‡‡ nane udir,
                For feir, §§
At Christis-Kirk on the grene that day.

DIVINE TRUST.

Sen throw vertew incressis dignitie,
  And vertew is flour and rute of nobles ay,
Of ony wit, or quhat estait thou be
  His steppis follow, and dreid for none effray:
  Eject vice, and follow treuth alway;
Lufe maist thy God, that first thy lufe began,
And for ilk inche He will thé quyte ane span.

Be not ouir proude in thy prosperitie,
  For as it cummis, sa will it pas away;
The tyme to compt is schort, thou may weill se,

* In the game of football, when the ball reaches the goal, the winners cry out, *Hail the dule!*

† Knocked them down in numbers, or heaps.
§ A load or heap.
¶ Just now would have slain my brother.
†† He gave them both a drubbing.
§§ In apprehension.
‡ Quickly, presently.
|| Knaves
** Frivolous or foolish.
‡‡ *Ding*, encounter.

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For of grene gress sone cummis wallowit hay.
Labour in treuth, quhilk suith is of thy fay;
Traist maist in God, for He best gyde thé can,
And for ilk inche He will thé quyte ane span.

Sen word is thrall, and thocht is only fre,
Thou dant thy toung, that power hes and may,
Thou steik thy ene fra warldis vanitie,
Refraine thy lust, and harkin quhat I say:
Graip or thou slyde, and keip furth the hie way,
Thou hald thé fast upon thy God and man,
And for ilk inche He will thé quyte ane span.

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DOMESTIC EVERYDAY LIFE, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS IN THE ANCIENT WORLD.

By GEORGE HARRIS, Esq., F.S.A.,

Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, and late Vice-President of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

HISTORY is, of all studies, the most interesting and the most generally followed. By this means we become acquainted with what has taken place during the ages of the world which preceded our own; and vast and valuable indeed are the lessons to be learned from the extended experience thus afforded. Of all the various branches of history, that which relates to the domestic everyday life of our fellow-creatures who have lived before us under very different circumstances from those by which we are surrounded, and who have been influenced by events and causes totally different from any of those by which we can be affected, appears to me to be by far the most useful for us to be acquainted with. An account of the wars which have been waged between different nations, a narrative of the political intrigues which have been carried on in certain states, a description of the various kings and queens who have reigned over particular peoples, possess their peculiar attractions for some tastes; but a relation of what were the modes of life, the daily pursuits, the ordinary occupations, and the common resources of the people themselves at these various periods of the world's history, appears to me to be a subject that comes home more nearly to us, and is calculated more warmly to excite our interest than any of the former matters. We shall thus be led to trace out the earliest dawn of civilisation, and shall have an op-

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portunity of watching its course from the period when its light first gleamed above the horizon, to that when its mid-day splendour served to disperse the darkness of barbarism, and to diffuse knowledge and refinement wherever its rays had penetrated. We shall also be able to distinguish the leading elements which together constitute the basis of the science.

While observing the habits and modes of life practised by mankind under so many and such different circumstances, we are perplexed to decide which interests us most—whether, on the one hand, the entire contrariety, in many respects, of their modes of life to anything of which, in our own day, we have experience; or, on the other hand, the very exact correspondence in certain, and indeed in many respects, although so very differently circumstanced, of their customs and ways of living to those which we in the present day follow.

It is my intention to afford some insight into the pursuits and habits, and modes of everyday life, and into the manners and customs of the inhabitants of the world in different countries, commencing with the earliest period of its history with which we are acquainted, down to what we may consider as the close of the ancient period—the commencement of the Christian era. I shall describe the style of dress of the people, their cities and houses, the furniture which they used, their mode of taking their meals, their different kinds of amusements, their method of travelling, both by land and water, their professional and commercial pursuits and occupations, their arts and manufactures, their way of carrying on war, their religious rites and ceremonies, and their funeral solemnities. In this my first paper I shall treat only of the domestic economy of the people, including their mode of dress, their dwellings, and the internal arrangement and regulations of their households.

I shall begin with describing to you the personal appearance of the early inhabitants of our planet, as afforded by the dress in which they were clothed. Rude and uncouth these gar-

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ments were at first, and grotesque was the aspect which our primitive forefathers presented; they were rudely attired in the skins of wild beasts killed in the chase, and in some cases with the leaves of trees sewed together to form a covering, as in the scriptural narrative we are told was the case with Adam and Eve. Very little attempt at ornament would probably be made at first, with the exception of a gaudy feather or a bright flower stuck in the hair. The hair was originally allowed to grow long, and in part served for a covering. As the people advanced in civilisation, their dress became more complicated and more artificial. In time they learnt to tan the skins, which they at first wore in their natural state, with the hair or fur upon it. Leaves and grasses of different kinds were also woven together, out of which a sort of rude cloth was made, which was also applied as an article of dress. Where civilisation did not make much progress, this uncouth style of dress continued for many ages. When Britain was invaded by Cæsar, about fifty years before the birth of Christ, he found the people attired in the rude fashion which I have described; and the historian Tacitus remarks of the ancient Germans, that "the clothing common to all is a sagum," which was a kind of square mantle, fastened by a clasp, or, in want of that, a thorn. With no other covering they pass whole days on the hearth before the fire. They also wear the skins of beasts; they variegate particular skins with spots and strips of the furs of marine animals, the produce of the ocean. The dress of the women does not differ from that of the men, except that they more frequently wear linen, which they stain with purple.* The bark of trees is also mentioned as an article of dress among this people. We may infer that at this period, when few of the arts of civilised life had been invented, persons might be led to tan skins instead of wearing them with the hair or fur, from observing the operation of water upon them; and that, in like manner, they would be induced to dye skins and cloths, from seeing the different colours produced by the stains upon them of berries and juices of leaves. The necessity of protecting themselves

* "Manners of the Germans," c. xvii.

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against the weapons of their enemies, urged them to make the clothes which they wore of the strongest and toughest material, whether of leather or leaves or twigs. The earliest headpieces resembling helmets were made of tough skins; and shields were first constructed of wicker-work and wood. When utility and comfort had been attained as regards ordinary dress, some attention would be given towards ornamenting their clothing; and from different persons observing the dresses of strangers, improvements would gradually proceed. Various circumstances would influence the character and style and mode of dress of the people; but these would be mainly determined by the climate and the natural productions of the particular nation. According to the degree of heat or cold which generally prevailed, or the change from one to the other, both the kind of clothing, whether thick or thin, covering the whole or only part of the frame, would depend. And the quality of it would be regulated by the natural productions, whether skins of animals, and whether beasts, birds, or fishes, or the bark or leaves of plants or twigs that might be twisted and interwoven. It is a curious fact, that in nations where civilisation has made little or no progress, the dress of the people will be found to be very much the same as it was in the early ages of the world. Many of the savages discovered by Captain Cook were clothed with skins and the bark of trees, and adorned with feathers, after the fashion of the people who first lived upon the earth.

The most ancient pictures which represent early costumes are those which were made by the Egyptians. In the dress of the Egyptians is clearly to be traced the influence both of climate and of natural productions. The warmth of the climate occasioned the people to be slenderly clad. The scarcity of skins, and the abundance of leaves and bark, led them to use the latter for the purpose of clothing; and the quantity of juices and berries fit for dyeing, induced them to avail themselves liberally of these in order to diversify the colours of their garments. At an early period, the art of weaving both wool and flax into clothes appears to have been

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discovered, and was fully availed of for making garments of different kinds, as also for curtains and bedding.

After the Egyptians, the Greeks are the earliest people of whose dress satisfactory records are preserved. The Greeks borrowed the arts of painting and sculpture from the Egyptians, imitated them in the art of dress, and learned from them the materials to be used. The Israelites also, who at an early period used vegetable materials, as well as the skins of animals in their clothing, may have borrowed from the Egyptians during their sojourn in Egypt.

Herodotus informs us that the Egyptians "wore linen garments, constantly fresh-washed, and they paid particular attention to this. . . . . The priests wore linen only, and shoes of byblus, and were not permitted to wear any other garments, or other shoes."* He also tells us that the Egyptians "wore linen tunics round their legs, which they called *calliseris*, and over these they threw white woollen mantles. Woollen clothes, however, were not carried into the temples, nor were they buried with them, for that was accounted profane."†

The Grecian costume, both of the male and female, consisted of long flowing garments, of which representations are preserved in the remains of Greek statuary, some fine specimens of which, in the Elgin marbles, are to be seen in the British Museum. It was subsequently adopted by the Romans.

The dress of the Romans, during the early part of their national career, was rude and barbarous. But as they advanced in civilisation, and luxury gained ground among them, their costume became more refined and complicated. At length, to such a height was extravagance carried, that a law had to be passed that "no woman should possess more than half-an-ounce of gold, or wear a garment of various colours, or ride in a carriage drawn by horses, in a city, or any town, or any place nearer thereto than one mile, except on the occasion of some public religious solemnity."‡

* Euterpe, ii. 37. † *Ibid.*, ii. 81. ‡ Livy, b. iv., c. i.

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This law, however, as might have been expected, was vigorously opposed by the Roman ladies, who, the historian says, "could not be kept at home, either by advice or shame, nor even by the commands of their husbands; but beset every street and pass in the city, beseeching the men as they went down to the Forum, that, in the present flourishing state of the Commonwealth, when the private fortune of all was daily increasing, they would suffer the women to have their former ornaments of dress restored." The historian goes on to relate, that this throng increased daily, and that every hour these valorous and pertinacious Amazons became bolder and more clamorous, until at last they besieged the very magistrates and consuls and prætors themselves. In the end, as may be supposed, the ladies proved victorious, and the obnoxious law was repealed.

The distinguishing part of the Roman dress among the males was the toga or gown, and in this they were particularly careful always to appear attired when in foreign countries. It consisted in a loose flowing woollen robe, which covered the whole body, round and close at the bottom, but open at the top down to the girdle, without sleeves, so that the right arm was at liberty, and the left supported a part of the toga, which was drawn up and thrown back over the left shoulder, and this formed what was called the *sinus*, a fold or cavity upon the breast, in which things might be carried. When a person did any work, we are told that he tucked up his toga, and girded it round him; also, that the Romans were at great pains to adjust the toga that it might sit properly and not draggle.*

One writer observes that the colour of the common toga being white, and the stuff woollen, they were necessarily cleansed by fullers; and as that operation required more frequent repetition than was sometimes convenient, they were not always of the most delicate appearance. But those who aspired to employment in the State, made a point of appearing in robes of resplendent whiteness, which lustre obtained

* Adam's "Roman Antiquities," 379, 380.

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for them the distinctive appellation of *togæ candidæ*, and for those who wore them that of *candidati*, which has descended to modern competitors for office.*

The toga was at first used by women as well as men. But afterwards matrons wore a different robe, called *stola*, with a broad border or fringe reaching to the feet, and also, when they went out of doors, a loose outer robe thrown over the stola, like a mantle or cloak.† Courtesans, and ladies who had been found guilty of immorality, were not allowed to wear the stola.‡

None but Roman citizens were permitted to wear the toga, and banished persons were prohibited from using it. Its colour was white, and on festivals they usually had one newly cleaned. The toga, in mourning, was of a black or dark colour. The mourning robe of women covered the head and shoulders. It is supposed that they had several of these, one above the other, that they might throw them into the funeral piles of their husbands and friends.§

Magistrates and certain priests wore a toga bordered with purple. Young men till they were seventeen years of age, and young women till they married, also put on a gown bordered with purple. Boys adopted by way of ornament a hollow golden ball or boss, which hung from the neck on the breast.‖ The Romans, in later ages, wore above the toga a kind of great coat, open before, and fastened with clasps or buckles, which were used to fasten the different parts of dress.¶ Fur seems to have been first adopted in the dress of the Romans about the third century of the Christian era.**

Female dresses among the Romans were for a long period entirely made of woollen cloth, and appear to have differed in no respect from those of the men. Silk was afterwards resorted to occasionally. Their robes were mounted with slips of beaten gold sewn on them. Gold thread was also used, and tassels of gold have been found among the ruins of Herculaneum.††

* "Sketches of Institutions, etc., of Romans," 327.
† *Ibid.*
‡ Adam's "Roman Antiquities," 381.
§ *Ibid.*
‖ *Ibid.*, 382.
¶ *Ibid.*, 386.
** "Sketches of Institutions, etc., of Romans," 334.
†† *Ibid.*, 364, 367.

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The Romans wore neither stockings nor trousers, but used sometimes to wrap their legs in pieces of cloth. Persons who were delicate had also mufflers to keep the throat and neck warm. Some used a handkerchief for this purpose.*

The pocket-handkerchief, we are told, was originally used for a different purpose than wiping the nose, being waved in the hand as a token of approbation towards actors in the theatre. At length the senators and those who had business at court began to apply it to its present purpose; but ages elapsed before that use became common to the people, the sleeve being originally adopted, or, at any rate, used for the purpose referred to.†

The Romans had various coverings for their feet, but chiefly of two kinds. The shoe covered the whole foot, and was tied above with a latchet or lace, a point or string. The other was a slipper or sandal, which covered the sole of the foot only, and was fastened with leather thongs or strings. Slippers were used at feasts, but taken off before eating. The shoes of senators were of a black colour, and came up to the middle of the legs. Some wore scarlet shoes, these were sometimes turned up at the point in the form of the printed letter f. Senators had four latchets to tie their shoes, and plebeians only one.‡ The shoes of the Roman women were generally white, but were sometimes red, scarlet, or purple.§

Among the ancients generally, shoes were first made of raw hide with the hair on; skins were afterwards prepared by tanning. Shoes were occasionally constructed of bark, particularly by the Egyptians. The Romans had also shoes of iron, which they used for the punishment of the Christians during their early persecutions, and into which great nails were driven, which they caused to be made red-hot. Some of the Romans wore shoes of gold, as was the case with Julius Cæsar. Wooden shoes were used by the poor.‖ The sole of

* Adam's "Roman Antiquities," 387.

† "Arts of Greeks and Romans," ii. 267.

‡ Adam's "Roman Antiquities," 388. § *Ibid.*

‖ "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," tit. "Calceanatum."

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the shoe was tied on to the bottom of the foot with leather straps or buckles, and so worn instead of shoes. The different kinds of these shoes served to distinguish the Roman people.*

Gloves are mentioned both by Greek and Roman writers, and with fingers as well as without them.†

The ancient Romans went with their heads bare, except at sacred rites, games, festivals, on a journey, or in war. In the city, as a screen from the heat or wind, they threw over their head the lappet of their gowns, which they took off when they met any one to whom they were bound to show respect. At all sacred rites, but those of Saturn, they veiled their heads. At games and festivals they wore a woollen cap or bonnet. When on a journey, they used a round cap like a helmet, or a broad-brimmed hat.‡ In their houses, the Romans had no covering for their heads.§

The Roman women dressed their hair in the form of a helmet, mixing false hair with it.‖ In the case of a bride, the hair was dressed with a spear; the meaning of this has greatly puzzled antiquarian writers. Some have supposed that it denoted subjection to her husband, the lord of the spear; others that it betokened she was expected to bring forth valiant sons.¶ The custom of wearing a spear in the hair is still practised by women in several parts of the Continent.

The Roman women anointed their hair with the richest perfumes, and sometimes painted it, and made it appear of a bright yellow. But they did not use powder; it was first introduced in France, about the year 1593. Roman women, however, frizzled or curled their hair with hot irons, and sometimes raised it to a great height by rows or storeys of curls. They had slaves to assist in dressing the hair, who were in danger of punishment if a single lock was misplaced; and

* Godwin's "Roman Antiquities," 153.
† Adam's "Roman Antiquities," 389.
‡ *Ibid.*, 390.
§ "Arts of Greeks and Romans," 105.
‖ Adam's "Roman Antiquities," 390.
¶ "Arts of Greeks and Romans," 247.

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in this case, either the whip was at once applied, or the mirror, which was made of polished brass or steel or silver, was hurled at the poor slave's head. Every woman of fashion had at least one head-dresser.*

The instrument availed of for curling and crisping the hair, seems to be of very ancient date, as Virgil, who probably studied the costume of the heroic age, supposes it to have been in use at the time of the Trojan war, and makes Turnus speak contemptuously of Æneas for having his locks perfumed. The natural roughness or crispness of hair is often mentioned as beauty.†

Poppæa, the wife of Nero, invented a sort of pomatum or ointment to preserve her beauty, made of asses' milk, in which she used also to bathe. Five hundred donkeys are said to have been daily milked for this purpose; and when she was banished from Rome, fifty asses attended her.‡

Pumice-stones were applied to smooth the skin. The Roman ladies had, moreover, recourse to paint, and resorted to white-lead to whiten the skin, and vermilion to make it red. They had also a sort of plaster to take off the small hairs from their cheeks, for which they used an instrument. The edges of the eyelids and the eyebrows they painted with a black powder or soot. When they wanted to conceal any deformity on the face, they stuck on a patch, sometimes like a crescent, as also for mere ornament. It is said of a famous lawyer named Regulus, who lived in the time of Domitian, that he used to anoint his right or left eye, and wear a white patch over one side or other of his forehead, according as he was to plead either for the plaintiff or the defendant.§

The Romans took great care of their teeth by washing and rubbing them. When they lost them, they procured artificial teeth of ivory. If loose, they bound them with gold. It is said that Æsculapius first invented the ingenious art of extract-

* Adam's "Roman Antiquities," 390, 391.
† "Price on the Picturesque," i. 380.
‡ Adam's "Roman Antiquities," 392.
§ *Ibid.*

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ing teeth.* The Roman ladies used small tooth-brushes, and also toothpicks; some of the latter were of silver, others of wood.† Ingenious devices were also resorted to by Roman ladies by burning the powder of antimony, and the use of certain other powders, in order to increase the lustre of their eyes, and to make those which were small or sunk appear larger and more prominent than they really were. This custom is supposed to be alluded to in the Bible, where Jezebel is mentioned as painting her face, which it is contended should be correctly rendered, "she put her eyes in paint," on the approach of Jehu.

During the early part of the Commonwealth, the Roman ladies never appeared abroad without a veil; but this was gradually laid aside as the reserve of their manners declined.‡

Roman ladies wore earrings of pearls, three or four in each ear; also necklaces made of gold and set with gems, which the men also used. Diamonds were known to the Romans, but they appear to have been ignorant of the means of rendering them brilliant. The fan was in use among the ladies, and was ordinarily formed of peacocks' feathers.§ Some of the Roman ladies, we are told, by way of ornament, carried in their bosoms a species of small harmless serpent. Parrots, monkeys, and lapdogs were also among their pets.‖

The ornament of the men was usually a twisted chain, or a circular plate of gold.¶ In private and public mourning, the Romans laid aside their ornaments, their gold and purple.**

There is no account in any of the ancient authors of the interior arrangement of that most interesting of all apartments, a lady's dressing-room. We are, however, told that the dressing-table was provided with all its proper appendages, except that

* Adam's "Roman Antiquities," 392.
† "Sketches of Institutions, etc., of Romans," 360.
‡ *Ibid.*, 355, 356.
§ *Ibid.*, 369, 370.
‖ *Ibid.*, 370, 371.
¶ Adam's "Roman Antiquities," 393.
** *Ibid.*, 395.

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useful little modern instrument, the pin. Combs there were, made of ivory or bone, and sometimes of metal; and a heated wire was used, round which the hair was curled into the required form.*

Jewellery of different kinds, including earrings, necklaces, and bracelets, was in use among very early nations, such as the Egyptians and the Assyrians. The Egyptians were fond of loading their fingers with rings; and the Medes and Persians wore bracelets of great value and beauty. And we are told that no goldsmith's work of any country excels in exquisite beauty the early jewellery of Greece and Italy.† A very choice and beautiful collection of articles of this description is preserved in the British Museum.

No ornament was more generally worn among the Romans than the finger ring.‡ The rings which the Romans used to give to the women betrothed to them, were generally of iron, and were placed on the fourth finger. Some were of copper and brass, with little knobs like a key, to signify that the husband by giving this ring to his wife, put her in possession of the keys of his house.§

Rings were used for sealing letters and papers. They were generally pulled off from the fingers of persons dying; but they seem to have been sometimes put on again before the dead body was burnt.‖

The ancient Romans suffered their beards to grow. The appearance of venerable senators, with flowing beards and majestic mien, struck the Gauls with veneration.¶ When young men began to shave, presents were made to them by their friends; and the day on which they commenced this operation was celebrated as a festival.**

The Romans generally wore their hair short, and dressed

* "Sketches of Institutions, etc., of Romans," 353, 354.
† "Long ago," 70, 71,
‡ Adam's "Roman Antiquities."
§ "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," tit. "Annulus."
‖ Adam's "Roman Antiquities," 396.
¶ "Arts of Greeks and Romans," ii. 78.
** A[illegible]man Antiquities," 397.

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with great care. It was not, however, usual to cut the hair until the youth attained twenty-one; and both the hair and the first growth of the beard were usually consecrated to a demi-god. As tokens of grief and mourning, the Romans allowed both their hair and beards to grow, or let them flow dishevelled. Sometimes they tore the hair, or covered it with dust and ashes.*

The *spuma Batava*, the Batavian froth mentioned by Martial, was used to clean, and probably also to give colour to the hair; and the Germans, who had a taste for red hair, used to dye their hair with it. It was also recommended to prevent grey hair. Occasionally the hair was powdered with gold-dust in order to render it very resplendent, a custom which was practised by the Jews. The hair of the Emperor Commodus is said to have become so fair and bright by its constant use, that when the sun shone upon it, his head appeared as if on fire.†

Under the Emperors, the Romans began to wear wigs, the false hair being fixed on a skin. For the poorer sort of people in ancient Rome, there were public barbers' shops or shades, which were much frequented, and where females used to officiate.‡ The custom of shaving was not introduced until the middle of the fifth century, when, as we are told by Livy,§ barbers were first brought from Sicily. After that period it became fashionable to wear the hair short, curled, and perfumed with care, and the beard close shaved, until the time of Adrian, who, to hide some excrescences on his chin, revived the habit of wearing the beard. Some persons used to get rid of their beards entirely, either with pincers, pumice-stone, or an ointment mentioned by Martial, which seems to have been singularly efficacious for the purpose, and consequently in great request. The ancient philosophers, on the other hand, allowed their beards to grow, less at first,

* Adam's "Roman Antiquities," 397, 398.

† "Sketches of Institutions, etc., of Romans," 357.

‡ Adam's "Roman Antiquities," 399.

§ Tit. Liv., l. v., c. 41.

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but in time they preserved them as a mark of gravity and wisdom; and a long beard eventually became so essential to philosophic dignity, that Lucian records the rejection of a candidate for a professorial chair on account of the limited dimensions of his beard.* When a person was at the point of death, it was usual to cut off a hair of his head as an offering to Pluto.†

The earliest dwellings which mankind inhabited, were rude caves in the rocks, formed by nature. Occasionally, groves of trees afforded a refuge, or the thick boughs or hollow trunks of large trees, in spots where caves were not to be met with. The first step in the progress of building would probably be the enlargement of these caves, or the rendering them more commodious and comfortable; and the groves and trees might be lopped and pruned so as to be more adapted for shelter. By and by, when more caves and more groves were wanted than nature had supplied, the rude ingenuity of man would readily lead him to scoop out of the rocks artificial caves similar to those which already existed, and to plant new groves like those which had spontaneously sprung up. Having been successful in constructing artificial caves and rearing groves for habitation, men would be encouraged to try their ingenuity in erecting structures in imitation of caves for the purpose of residence, and which would probably be formed out of large pieces of rock. Others would imitate groves, the materials of which would be the trunks and branches of trees. Hence the earliest buildings represent caves and edifices built with the timber of trees—caves and groves of trees having formed the original type of buildings in general. In the case of building, as in that of dress, the precise nature and quality of the edifice must have been regulated by the climate of the country, and the materials which it yielded. Thus, in countries subject to cold and frequent rains, caves, and buildings in imitation of them, would be preferred to groves and structures like them. Where the air was mild, and heavy rains were infrequent,

* "Sketches of Institutions, etc., of Romans," 345, 346. † *Ibid.*, 348.

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groves and buildings of wood would be preferred. Where forests abounded, wood, of course, was the readiest material at hand; but in parts where there were no trees, stones would be eagerly sought. And, as necessity is the mother of invention, when stone could not be obtained, mankind were induced to use clay, which they at first, in hot countries, hardened by the heat of the sun, and for which end they subsequently found out that fire might be applied.

Some historians assert that the earliest houses were towers, and we are told that those of Egypt were of great height. The Egyptian houses are described as square, of two storeys, with a door in the centre, and three windows in the first floor. The tower-houses of Thebes resembled church towers without the buttresses; and this, we are told, was the general fashion of the dwellings in Babylon. Such also was the case with buildings in the ancient city of Bacchus. Very similar to this city was ancient Babylon, the description of which by Herodotus shows that it consisted of an exterior wall with turrets and brazen gates, and a second wall within it, of less width; houses of three and four storeys forming streets straight and parallel.* Herodotus also mentions that "at the end of each street a little gate is formed in the wall along the river-side, in number equal to the streets; and they are all made of brass, and lead down to the edge of the river."† The city, he says, stands in a spacious plain, and has a moat full of water round the wall, to which latter there were a hundred gates, all of brass.‡ Herodotus further narrates, that "it is related by the people who inhabited this city, that, by reason of its great extent, when they at the extremities were taken [by Cyrus], those of the Babylonians who inhabited the centre knew nothing of the capture (for it happened to be a festival); they were dancing at the time and enjoying themselves, till they received certain information of the truth."§

It was usual for the first builders of cities, in remote ages,

* "Arts of Greeks and Romans," 8, 9.
† Clio, i. c. 178. ‡ *Ibid.* § *Ibid.*, c. 191.

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to lay the foundations upon steep rocks and high mountains; this they did partly because such situations afforded a good defence against invaders, but more especially because they hoped to be by this means secured against floods. Afterwards, when the population increased, the whole plain was filled with buildings, and this was called the lower city, as was the case at Athens, which was one of the fairest and largest cities of all Greece, being a day's journey in compass. Athens was fortified by a strong wall, and Thucydides informs us that nobody was allowed to build houses under the wall, or to make ditches or sow corn there." * The streets of Athens are, however, said not to have been very uniform or beautiful. † Indeed, in general, Greek towns consisted of poor and mean houses, irregular streets, lanes like alleys, and shops small and unglazed, like those of butchers at the present day.‡

At this period the military and great men occupied the cities and fortresses. The huts or houses of agriculturists were scattered about the fields, or formed into villages. Inland people seated themselves at a great distance from the sea, in order to avoid the inhabitants of the coast who used to make incursions up the country for the sake of booty. Those who could afford to do so, fortified their houses by strong walls.§

In Egyptian towns, the streets were more regular than in the Grecian, and in the centre of the city stood the temple. It was the custom of the Egyptians to live close together, and the largest houses were but 40 feet in length, and 20 in breadth. Others were smaller; and Belzoni remarks that "these people had no need of great sheds to store coaches, chariots, or any other luxurious lumber. Their cattle and camels lay in the open air, as they still do in all these countries. Nor had they any extensive manufactories; the only buildings for their commerce were a few storehouses. Nor could the narrow lanes which were in use in those times

* Potter's "Greek Antiquities," 34, 35.
† *Ibid.*, 39.
‡ "Arts of Greeks and Romans," i. 132.
§ *Ibid.*, 239, 240.

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occupy much of the ground." In the earliest cities, the houses were not united, nor built in any regularity for streets, but only divided by alleys, not more than three or four feet wide, and all constructed of sun-burnt bricks, and there were causeways or roads made of large stones.*

When mankind had attained sufficient skill to secure all they required in the way of ordinary comfort in the construction of their cities and houses, they began to turn attention to the erection of them with due regard to taste, hence the art of architecture. The first people who invented an order of architecture were the Phœnicians or Canaanites, so often referred to in the sacred Scriptures.†

Belzoni presents an interesting account of the discoveries which he made in the city of Bacchus. He tells us that, in the centre of the city, he observed several houses, or rather cellars, under ground, as they appeared from their tops, which were covered with strong pieces of wood, over which were some canes, and above these was a layer of bricks on a level with the surface, so that one might walk over them without perceiving that he was treading upon the top of a house. Upon uncovering some of these houses, after removing the layer of bricks, was found a layer of clay, and then a layer of canes, which were nearly burnt; and lastly, under the canes, some rafters of wood forming the ceiling. The wood was in good preservation, and of a hard quality. The inside of a hut or cellar was filled up with rubbish; but these places had evidently been inhabited, as there was a fireplace in each. They were not more than ten or twelve feet square, and the communication to each other was by a narrow lane, which was not more than three feet wide, also covered. Belzoni remarks, that he could not see the reason why people lived in such places. He felt certain they did not live there to be out of the heat; on the contrary, they must have had all the heat of the sun shining upon them, without the slightest chance of a breath of wind. Few of the houses above ground had a second floor,

* "Arts of Greeks and Romans," i. 43.

† Bromley's "History of Arts," i. 181.

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and those which were higher than the rest were very narrow, more like towers than common houses. At Karuck, near Thebes, the houses were square, with chambers at the side. In the centre of one of them were columns, a round well, and an oblong cistern. At the present day, the Egyptian houses seldom have windows on the ground-floors, and the upper storey is almost always devoted to pigeons, which are kept in thousands. The only modern difference of consequence is the lowness of the doors.*

In ancient Athens, the majority of the houses were composed of two compartments—one upstairs, for the women; the other below, for the men. Many had a garden behind; in front a small court; and more frequently a kind of portico, at the bottom of which was the gate of the house, sometimes confided to the eunuch. Occasionally there was a figure of Mercury to drive away thieves. Sometimes there was a dog, which the thieves did actually fear; and almost always there was an altar in honour of Apollo, where the master of the house came on certain days to offer sacrifice. Most of the Athenian houses were very small, and had numerous semi-circular seats about them. On the outside of many of them was an orchard.†

Doors turned anciently upon large pivots in the centre, let into sockets in the lintel and threshold, so that one of the sides opened inwards, the other outwards. Plutarch gives the following singular reason why persons were to knock and alarm the porter, viz., lest the visitor, entering unawares, should surprise the mistress or daughter of the family busy or undressed, the servants under correction, or the maids quarrelling.

Sir William Gell says that the house or palace of Ulysses had before it a paved or level platform, and was enclosed by a great wall, in which were placed well-wrought folding-doors. There was, nevertheless, a heap of manure at the gate, according to the number of mules and oxen employed in the service of the palace—a mixture of grandeur and uncleanliness which

* "Arts of Greeks and Romans," i. 44, 45.

† *Ibid.*, i. 164, 165.

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forms the most striking characteristic of the great houses of Greece at the present day. Dogs and pigs were also permitted to wander about the gates.

In the first compartment of a Grecian house were the eating-rooms in daily use, and the apartments of the servants. The women's chambers were at the top of the house. Homer describes Penelope as ascending and descending a staircase to get to her room. In the south portico were the men's apartments, and the grand or state dining-room; in the eastern the library, and in the western the rooms for conversation. There were also rooms in which the matrons and their servants worked embroidery and other articles of dress; and the strangers' apartments had sitting and sleeping rooms, and also courts or passages. Here they could live in private distinct from the family. There was also the parthenon, or room for the girls, which was the most distant part of the house, and was kept locked and bolted, for sometimes they were not allowed to pass from one part of the house to another without leave. Some accounts say that the house also contained large and ample rooms, in which the feasts were celebrated, but to which the women were not admitted to sit at table with the men—a barbarity wholly unworthy of refined and civilised Greece.

The Greeks were in the habit of ornamenting in a variety of ways that part of the house which was first seen by persons entering or passing. In the portico were placed the arms and armour. The flat roofs of the private dwellings distinguished them from the public edifices. Plutarch adds that houses ought to be light and airy, and that it was desirable to have a palm-tree before the door. Among the Spartans and Æolians, it was customary, on going to a house, not to knock, but to call out on reaching the door. Xenophon and Livy describe the houses of Sparta as lofty, and built more solidly than those of Athens.

The furniture and internal arrangement of what we may term a fashionable Greek mansion, are thus described by Barthélémy: "A long and narrow passage led directly to the

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women's lodgings. Entrance to it was prohibited to all of the male sex, except the relatives and persons introduced by the husband. After having crossed a grass-plot, surrounded by three piazzas, we arrived at a sufficiently large portion of the house, where was Lysistrate, to whom Dinias presented me. We found her occupied with two Sicilian doves, and a little Maltese dog that was playing around her. Lysistrate passed for one of the prettiest women of Athens, and sought to support that reputation by the elegance of her dress. Her black hair, perfumed with essences, fell in large curls over her shoulders; she wore golden earrings, pearl necklaces and bracelets, and rings of precious stones on her fingers. She was also painted rose-colour and white, and wore a robe of the latter colour, the common costume of women of distinction. . . . In the men's department, which had also a grass-plot in the middle, surrounded with four porticos, the walls were coated with stucco, and wainscoted with joiner's work. . . . Gold and ivory set off the furniture; the ceilings and walls were ornamented with paintings; the screens and tapestry, made at Babylon, represented Persians with their training robes, vultures, and other birds." To this catalogue may be added, from Theophrastus, as luxuries especially valued, two sorts of the monkey tribe, by some supposed to be of the ourang-outang species, some dice made of the bones of the antelope or gazelle, and Lacedemonian crooked walking-sticks. There were also purple carpets from Cyprus, adorned with plates or nails of gold, and embroidered. Homer, however, tells us that the house of Nestor was furnished with beds, tables, garments, carpets, and stores of new wine; and the ivory, gold, and amber displayed in that of Menelaus struck amazement in all beholders. Beds perfumed with aloes, and bedsteads of gold, silver, ivory, and iron, and bed-coverings of tapestry, are mentioned in Scripture. Plutarch describes beds at Lacedemonia stuffed with reeds, mixed in winter with a soft and downy thistle. The poor, however, slept upon mats, or on beds filled with leaves and boughs. Theophrastus asserts that the beds

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of these classic times were not free from those troublesome insects which infest modern beds. Herodotus describing the bedroom of a lady of his day, says that when undressing she placed her clothes upon a chair near the door. When the bed was of a sofa form, it was very long, the husband being in one corner of it, and the wife reclining behind him. Tent-beds are supposed to have been in use among the Greeks, and also coverings or curtains to keep off the mosquitoes.*

In some of the Grecian houses, the men and their wives had separate rooms, but they were accessible to each other that both might uninterruptedly enjoy their *siestas* or noonday naps. Each room had its distinct door, and one common to both, by which they could privately communicate with each other. Under the wife's room was the wardrobe; under the husband's, the library. An aged mother was accustomed to have a quiet place apart from the family, with especial provision for a fire. Beneath this was a plate-room, and here were lodged the male youths; the virgin girls lived in the wardrobe; and the nurses in a room adjoining. The visitors' place was near the vestibule, in order that their coming might not disturb the family. The master of the house had his rooms not far from his visitors, that he might enjoy the society of his friends. The upper servants had lodgings near their respective offices, and the females and chamberlains their own apartments so near that they could be within call. The butler lodged near the wine-cellar and larder, to which he had access, and the groom near the stables.†

We are told that in some cases, those women who had no husbands, whether widows or virgins, were strictly confined within their lodgings, and that their apartments were well guarded with locks and bolts. Sometimes they were not even allowed to go from one part of the house to another without leave.‡

Having described the houses commonly in use among the

* "Arts of Greeks and Romans," i. 171.

† *Ibid.*, i. 258.

‡ Potter's "Greek Antiquities," ii. 307.

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ancient Greeks, and the mode of living in them, we will next turn our attention towards those of ancient Rome.

The gods were always consulted by the Romans before they commenced building a city, as was done by Romulus in the foundation of Rome. After their augurial observations, they marked out the place where the wall of the city should be built, by ploughing up the ground, leaving the space unploughed by lifting the plough over it where the city gates were to stand.*

The streets of ancient Rome appear not to have been paved, although not only pavements but raised footways existed both at Herculaneum and Pompeii.† Nor was ancient Rome either lighted or watched. And the police regulations were so defective, that the streets were the constant scene of midnight brawls, and foot-passengers incurred no small danger of being either insulted by some drunken rioter, or knocked down by a robber. Midnight alarms of fire were also frequent.‡

Rome, we are told, only began to have houses with storeys towards the end of the Republic; and the uppermost rooms or garrets were the dining-rooms. And as persons close to the sea experience no inconvenience from great heats, it was a favourite custom to build houses in the water, which was the case with the villas of Cicero and Lucullus. The term *villa*, however, among the Romans, signified either a manor, farm, or barn, or a house of pleasure, built by great men. Some of these were very magnificent, and so extensive that they resembled towns, and they often contained whole families of servants and artizans. Martial describes the villa of Faustinus at Baiæ as situated in a field, and surrounded with corn, cattle, geese, and cocks and hens. There were towers in which pigeons were kept; pigs that followed a female servant who fed them; large fires for the servants; fishermen who used nets or angled; country people who called with presents of capons, as did *stout* girls, as they were termed, the

* Godwin's "Roman Antiquities," i. 2. † Diagram of Pompeii.

‡ "Sketches of Institutions, etc., of Romans," 189-191.

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daughters of the farmers. In other villas, he says, there were neither fruit, kitchen-garden, nor poultry; and he describes one Roman country-squire, as we may term him, travelling into the country with a cart loaded with cabbages, lettuces, and thrushes hung round a circle of twigs, and a servant running before the cart loaded with eggs.*

Some of the Roman villas were surrounded by large parks, in which deer and various foreign wild animals were kept. And strange to say, in order to render the sheep ornamental, it was customary to dye their fleeces of various colours.†

As regards the history of gardens, the information which we possess is scanty. In the Song of Solomon there is an allusion to an Eastern garden, as regards the trees and fruits to be found in it; and the Persians appear to have introduced streams and fountains into their gardens.‡ The garden of Alcinous, mentioned by Homer, although it appears to have been intended principally for a fruit garden, was yet disposed with a view to ornament. This garden was fenced about like the enclosed garden of Solomon; and among the trees were the pear, the pomegranate, the citron, the fig, the olive, and the vine, which are supposed to have been ranged in rows.§

The hanging gardens of Babylon are the next in order of time of which we meet with any particular account. Of these gardens the form was square; and, according to Diodorus and Strabo, each side was 400 feet in length. They were made to rise with terraces, constructed one above another in the form of steps, and supported by stone pillars to the height of more than 300 feet, gradually diminishing upwards, until the area of the superior surface was reduced considerably below that of the base. This building was constructed by placing vast stone beams on pillars of stone. These were again covered with reeds cemented with bitumen, and over these was laid a double row of bricks united by a mortar called

* "Arts of Greeks and Romans," i. 274.

† "Sketches of Institutions, etc., of Romans," 209.

‡ Falconer's "Historical View of Gardening among the Nations of Antiquity."

§ *Ibid.*

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gypsum. Over these were laid plates of lead, which effectually prevented the moisture from penetrating downwards. Above all was laid a coat of earth, of depth sufficient for plants to grow in; and in order to give room for the roots of large trees, the stone pillars that supported the edifice were hollowed to a considerable depth, and filled with earth. These trees, which were of various kinds, were ranged in rows on the sides of the ascent, as well as on the top, so that at a distance it appeared as a mountain covered with wood.*

The garden of Cyrus the younger at Sardis was planted with trees regularly arranged in straight lines and in angular figures, interspersed with sweet-smelling flowers. Birds and other animals were kept in these gardens.† But what was the style of Grecian gardening, we are not particularly informed; we certainly know that the philosophers at Athens delighted in the pleasures of a garden; and we are told by Plutarch that Cimon planted the academic grove which was before a rude uncultivated spot, and conveyed streams of water to it, probably for ornament as well as use, and laid it out in shady walks. The approach to the academic grove was adorned with temples of gods and tombs of heroes.‡

The earliest mention of a garden in Roman history is that of Tarquinius Superbus, described by Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus; but of this we have no particulars, except that it was planted with flowers, among which poppies made a large proportion.§ The next in point of time, though at a long interval, seems to be that of Lucullus. These were both situated at or near Baiæ, on the Bay of Naples, and were of extraordinary magnificence. They are described as consisting of vast edifices projected into the sea upon a stormy shore, of mountains levelled into plains, and artificial elevations of ground raised where there were none before.‖

The plane-tree appears to have been in high request in the Roman gardens, as it had been formerly in Greece. It is especially alluded to by Horace and Virgil; and Pliny tells

* Falconer's "Historical View of Gardening among the Nations of Antiquity."
† *Ibid.* ‡ *Ibid.* § *Ibid.* ‖ *Ibid.*

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us that so fond were the Romans of these trees, that instead of water they moistened them with wine. The myrtle and the bay were also held in esteem, as was the lotus.*

The general arrangement of trees in the Roman gardens was in straight lines. Flowers were cultivated more on account of their smell than their beauty;† yet the poppy possessed but slender claims on the latter ground. The rose, the lily, and the violet were in high esteem. Cleopatra paid a large sum for the roses strewed on the floor of an apartment at supper time; and Suetonius relates that Nero spent upwards of four million of sesterces, or above £30,000, for roses at one supper. It was the fashion to procure them when out of season, and Pliny says that early roses were produced by watering them with warm water when the bud began to appear.‡

Statues throwing out water were in use among the Romans. Marble seats were also placed in different parts of the gardens.§ The gardens of the Romans were adorned with walks and beds of flowers, as well as with water-works and other ornaments. They had, moreover, gardens which were hung up and carried upon wheels, and which were planted with fruit-trees, vines, melons, and cucumbers, and which they removed from one place to another according to the weather. These gardens were covered with isinglass, so that the beams of the sun might penetrate and ripen the fruit. They also had gardens on the tops of their houses, as was the case with the people of Babylon.‖

A high tower for prospect, a vineyard and a garden, were the usual accompaniments of a Roman villa. Pliny describes his garden as set with mulberry and fig trees, and a vine in the middle, a walk encompassing it bordered with box, or, where the box ended, with rosemary. The box-trees were clipped into different figures, and the servants sometimes inscribed the names of their masters in box or scented herbs.¶

* Falconer's "Historical View of Gardening among the Nations of Antiquity."
† *Ibid.* ‡ *Ibid.* § *Ibid.*
‖ "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," tit. "Hortus."
¶ "Arts of Greeks and Romans," i. 274.

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The entrance to a Roman house was by a flight of steps, through a folding gate of carved wood, or not infrequently of brass, which led to the *atrium* or hall which was in the form of an oblong square, surrounded by galleries supported on pillars, and seems to have been the common sitting-room of the family. In ancient times it was, indeed, the only public apartment for all domestic purposes; and it was there that the occupation of spinning and weaving, which formed so material a part of the accomplishments of a Roman matron, was carried on by the female slaves, under her inspection. But at a later period it was solely appropriated by families of the middle order to the more refined uses of society, and was divided into different apartments by means of ample curtains; while, among those of higher rank, it served merely as an antechamber to suites of spacious reception-rooms. The *atrium* contained a hearth, on which a fire was kept constantly burning, and round which were ranged the *lares*, or images of the ancestors of the family, which were made of wax. The houses were built with high sloping roofs, covered with broad tiles, and there was usually an open space in the centre to afford light to the inner apartments. The walls of the rooms were painted, and decorated with bas-reliefs, and the floors were mosaic. The outer door was furnished with a bell, and sometimes, as a mark of peculiar distinction, and by particular privilege, opened against the street.*

Porters, we are told, preceded the use of knockers. Sometimes the porter had a fierce chained dog, and occasionally there was only a painted one. In certain cases the porter was chained as well as the dog. In one account the porter is described as wearing a green livery, with a cherry-coloured girdle, and shelling peas in a silver dish. It was his office also to sprinkle and sweep the floors, for which purpose he was provided with besoms made of twigs, and a perforated vase or pot for dropping water to lay the dust. Juvenal describes a master of a house who is expecting a visitor, as threatening his servant with a rod or stick in his hand, and

* "Sketches of Institutions, etc., of Romans," 178-181.

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roaring out, "Sweep the pavement, clean the columns, and brush away the cobwebs." Horace mentions the fall of a curtain, loaded with dust, over a dinner-table. And Plutarch says, that if a person entered a Roman house unawares, he would perhaps find the family in *déshabillé*, foul dishes lying about the floor, and everything in disorder.

In Rome no great house was erected without an avenue of trees.* But in the early days of Rome, and for more than 400 years, the Romans had their houses built after a very plain fashion. They were made like a terrace, covered with slates and straw. In after-ages, their buildings were very magnificent and expensive, and their houses were remarkable for their height, the number of apartments they had for summer and winter, and for rich architectural decoration. At one period they raised their houses to such a monstrous height, that the Emperor Augustus was induced to limit them to 70 feet in altitude.† The houses of the great people of Rome were of vast extent, and contained several courts and apartments, and fine halls. Before these houses was a large porch, where clients and persons attending on men of consequence came early in the morning, and waited until it was daylight to be admitted.‡ When any one knocked at the door of a house at night, the porter used to ask how many were present. If, whether by night or day he did not choose to admit them, not content with banging the door in their faces, he beat them back with his staff; and if that was not successful in sending them away, he mounted the wall and threw stones at them.§

Ancient Rome was so large that there were 48,000 houses standing by themselves; and these houses were very convenient because they had a light on every side, and doors to the streets, and were not exposed to accidents by fire. But this must be understood of Rome that was rebuilt by Nero, after

* "Arts of Greeks and Romans," ii. 239.

† "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," tit. "Ædes."

‡ *Ibid.*, tit. "Domus."

§ "Arts of Greeks and Romans," ii. 172.

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he had himself reduced it to ashes.* Many of the Roman houses were constructed under ground, which served as retreats from the heat of summer. These houses contained several apartments, with passages and private closets. Some of the rooms were painted in fresco, with figures of animals, and were ornamented with bas-reliefs.†

Xenophon gives the following description of an Armenian village under ground: "Their houses were under ground, the entrance like the mouth of a well, but spacious below. There were passages dug into them for the cattle, but the people descended by ladders. In the houses were goats, sheep, cows, and fowls, with their young; all the cattle were kept on fodder within the walls." ‡

The bedrooms of Roman houses were small, and vaulted, having a little window for privacy placed near the roof, square, with a curtain and shutter to exclude the wind. In the chambers of the second storey of Hadrian's villa, are alcoves for placing the bedsteads; and Plutarch mentions bed-chambers as upper rooms. At Pompeii the bedrooms have tesselated pavements, and paintings on the walls.

The bedding of the Romans consisted of paillasses or mattresses stuffed with straw, wool, flock, or dried vegetables. It is said that the Romans first slept upon straw, to which succeeded dry leaves, skins of beasts for mattresses, and to them mattresses of the wool of Miletus, and down beds imported from Egypt on account of the number of geese kept there. From the representations which are preserved of them, the Roman beds appear to have been very luxurious, the feathers being sometimes those of the peacock. Those for old men were extremely soft, probably of down, of which the finest sort was used for the pillows of ladies. Bed-coverings consisted of skins of sheep or goats with the wool on, and blankets are supposed to have been also in use. Bed-making was an art among the Romans, and sometimes

* "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," tit. "Domus."

† "Arts of Greeks and Romans," i. 285.

‡ "Anabasis," b. iv., c. v., s. 24.

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the beds were so high as to require steps or stools in order to get into them.*

No chimneys have been discovered in the houses at Pompeii; but it is supposed that the Romans had their chimneys in the middle of the room with funnels to convey away the smoke. Some have asserted that chimneys were not used, and were not required, as firewood was burnt.† Originally the hearths both of the Greeks and Romans were not placed in the wall, but in the middle of the room, and without any hole in the roof. The windows of Roman houses were closed with blinds of linen, or plates of horn, but more generally with shutters of wood. A sort of transparent stone was afterwards used. But glass, though manufactured in Egypt from the earliest period, does not appear to have been used by the Romans in their windows until the fifth century of the Christian era.‡

The Romans were very particular about their floors; for they not only laid wood-work, distinct from the walls, lest contraction should induce clefts, but a strong coat of plaster upon it, and over all a pavement, which would not feel cold to the barefooted servants, even in winter.§ Pliny says, that painted pavements, wrought artificially, came from Greece, and that among the rest, the pavement of Pergamus, which was done by Sosus, was the most curious. It was called the *Asarota*, which means, that which is not swept away. And we are told that this name was given it because they saw upon the pavement the crumbs and other things which fell from the table while they were at meat so lively represented that they seemed to be realities, and that the servants took no care to sweep the room clean. This pavement was made of small shells, painted of different colours; and that which was most admired in it was a dove drinking, whose head cast a shadow upon the water.‖ Tesselated pavements are found

* "Arts of Greeks and Romans," i. 364. † *Ibid.*, 356.

‡ "Sketches of Institutions, etc., of Romans," 182, 183.

§ "Arts of Greeks and Romans," i. 254.

‖ "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," tit. "Asarota."

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in the houses at Pompeii, and also in the courts before them.

Looking-glasses were in use among the Romans; but mirrors made of metal were invented earlier. The famous Roman moralist Seneca advises the beautiful to consult one, in the resolution that they will never do anything to discredit that beauty; the ugly, that by their virtues they may atone for the defect; the young, that they may consider the vigorous season of life as the only one fitted for great undertakings; the old, that they may be reminded of approaching death.*

Romans of rank kept under the porches of their houses images and portraits of their ancestors, in wooden cases made for that purpose, and which were carried at their funeral pomps or triumphal entries. These figures were commonly made of wax or of wood, and some of them were of marble or brass; and when the house was sold it was not allowable to remove them out of their places.†

Lamps are supposed to have been invented by the Egyptians, and that before them torches were used. They are very early mentioned in Scripture; and we are told that the Egyptians lighted their lamps when they rose up to mourn the destruction of their first-born. Lamps were suspended by the ancients from the sacred trees, and were made of bronze; and they were used on every occasion, especially those of rejoicing. Thus, when the master of the house returned from a journey, he always found his lamps lighted, and the whole house brilliantly illuminated. The most remarkable lamps are those which were burnt in sepulchres, of which many have been found in ancient tombs. And we have been gravely told by some writers that on opening several tombs which must have been closed many hundreds of years, lamps were found burning, but that they were all extinguished on the admission of air.‡

The lamps are among the most curious of the articles dis-

* "Arts of Greeks and Romans," ii. 293.

† "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," tit. "Imagines."

‡ "Arts of Greeks and Romans," ii. 196.

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covered in the ruins of Herculaneum. Some of those made of pottery represent a boat. Among those of bronze, at the hinder end of one of the largest is a bat with extended wings, which may be regarded as an emblem of night. The delicate tissue of the wings of that animal, the tendons, the veins, and the skin are admirably wrought. Upon another of these lamps is a mouse, which appears to watch the moment when it may lick up the oil; and upon another lamp is a rabbit browsing upon herbs.*

Aqueducts were not common at Athens before the Roman times; and the want of them was supplied by wells, some of which were dug by private persons, others at the public expense. Solon enacted a law, that where there was a public well within four furlongs, all persons should have the privilege of drawing from it; but that those that lived at a greater distance should be obliged to provide a private well; and if they had dug ten fathoms deep and could find no water, they had liberty to fetch ten gallons from their neighbours, for that wise legislator thought it prudent to make provision against want, but not to encourage idleness.†

The aqueducts raised by the Romans are among the most stupendous and most wonderful monuments of their skill which they have left behind them. Among these is the magnificent aqueduct near Nismes, called *Pont du Gard*, which was built by the Romans for supplying water to that city from a spring about eight miles distant from it. It is formed of massive stones, and much of the masonry is as perfect now and as firm as it was when it was first placed there. These supplies of water must have been invaluable in case of fire breaking out; and several of the ancient historians, particularly Livy and Tacitus, have left us very vivid and graphic accounts of some of the devastations caused by conflagrations in Rome. Tacitus in his description of the burning of the city by Nero, speaks of its "liability to conflagration, in consequence of the narrow and intricate alleys and the irregularity of the streets."‡

* "Arts of Greeks and Romans," ii. 196.

† Potter's "Greek Antiquities," i. 44, 45.

‡ "Annals," b. xv., c. 38.

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Ancient Rome was cleansed by means of sewers of stupendous magnitude, and of such solid workmanship that after the lapse of more than two thousand years the principal drain, anciently the *Cloaca Maxima*, is still entire.*

The descriptions which I have given of Roman houses relate principally to those which were in Rome itself. But I will now present one of a house belonging to a Roman patrician who lived in Gaul. We are told that these houses were commonly spacious, and contained room for a great number of persons. One side of every house was appropriated to the women, who lived very much apart from the men. Every family had a few confidential freedmen, whose business it was to act as upper-servants, stewards, and managers of the household. All the rest were slaves; and as these people were commonly prisoners of war, and had been torn from their countries and their families, they hated their masters, and panted for revenge and liberty. At night they were chained up like so many wild beasts in their cells, with the exception perhaps of those female slaves who were, or who had been, nurses to the lady of the house and her children, and who were suffered to remain unchained, as a nurse was charitably supposed to be too much attached to all the members of the family to wish to murder any of them.†

I have now related as much as I am able to do in the course of a single paper of the mode in which the early inhabitants of the world, belonging to different nations, used to dress; and also as to the manner in which they constructed their houses and cities, and the way in which they disposed and furnished the apartments of those dwellings. Before concluding, I wish to say a few words about their general way of life, more especially as regards the fashion in which they took their meals and lived together in social intercourse.

The bill of fare of the first people of the world must have been a very scanty one, if the account of their supposed dietary

* "Sketches of Institutions, etc., of Romans," p. 192.

† Markham's "History of France," c. i. con., p. 7.

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is correct. We are told that they at first fed on berries and other wild fruits, such as the country in which they resided produced; and for drink, they resorted to the nearest spring. Occasionally they ate the flesh of animals, which at that period were all wild, as the art of domesticating them, or, indeed, the necessity, was unknown. In course of time they probably learnt to cultivate some fruits near the caves or groves in which they lived, and to domesticate some of the wild animals whose flesh they chiefly preferred for food, so as to have them ready at hand when wanted. Their drink they might also vary by the juices which these fruits produced, or by the milk of their herds. As they gained experience in the management of household affairs, they would learn how to cook and prepare their meat, both animal and vegetable; and the art of grinding corn into flour, and making that flour become paste, would ere long be acquired. Probably the best, and the most true account of the mode of life of the earliest people in the world, is afforded in that most ancient and most authentic of all the histories—the Bible. We are there told how the first inhabitants lived upon fruits and the flesh of animals; how they afterwards began to keep flocks of their own; how they occasionally resorted to the chase of animals for food; how they ventured on the experiment, unfortunately attended in Noah's case, of trying the effect of juice squeezed from a certain berry; and how in time, as in the case of the patriarch Jacob and his sons, corn became a staple commodity as food. And in the Scriptural account of the liberal entertainment given by Joseph to his brethren, is afforded a description of an early Egyptian feast.

The historian Herodotus also supplies us with some curious information on this topic. From what he tells us of their drink, it has been inferred that we owe to the Egyptians the invention of beer. He says that the Egyptians "feed on bread made into loaves of spelt, which they call *cyllestis;* and they use wine made of barley, for they have no vines in their country. Some fish they dry in the sun and eat raw, others salted with brine; and of birds, they eat quails, ducks, and

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smaller birds raw, having first salted them; all other things, whether birds or fishes, that they have, except such as are accounted sacred, they eat either roasted or boiled."* The same writer observes of the Egyptians, that while "others feed on wheat and barley, it is a very great disgrace for an Egyptian to make food of them; but they make bread from spelt, which some call *zea*. They knead the dough with their feet, but mix clay with their hands."† "They drink from cups of brass, which they scour every day; nor is this custom practised by some and neglected by others, but all do it."‡ Other authorities inform us that the Egyptians made bread of vegetables, particularly of the lotus and the lower stems of the papyrus, and that their common drink was the water of the Nile;§ also, that they scrupulously avoided eating with strangers as unclean.‖ In the Scripture narrative of Joseph entertaining his brethren, it is mentioned that it was not lawful for the Egyptians to eat bread with the Hebrews.

The following extraordinary custom in connection with Egyptian feasts is mentioned by Herodotus:—"At convivial banquets, among the wealthy classes, when they have finished supper, a man carries round in a coffin the image of a dead body carved in wood, made as life-like as possible in colour and workmanship, and in size generally about one or two cubits in length; and showing this to each of the company, he says, 'Look upon this, then drink and enjoy yourself, for when dead you will be like this.' This practice they have at their drinking parties."¶ A similar practice appears to have been followed by the Greeks and Romans.**

Among the Greeks, the excellent custom of rising early and getting early to work was followed. At cock-crowing, the inhabitants of the country, singing old songs, entered Athens with their provisions. At the same time the shops were opened, and all traders were in motion. People in general made two meals a day, but some were contented with one, which they

* Euterpe, ii. 77. † *Ibid.*, ii. 36. ‡ *Ibid.*, 37.
§ Rees' Cyclopædia, tit. "Egypt." ‖ *Ibid.*
¶ Euterpe, ii. 78. ** "Arts of Greeks and Romans," ii. 201.

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took either at mid-day or before sunset.* One writer hazards an opinion that in the ancient stages of society, when men were mainly devoted to bodily labour, it was impossible that they could be satisfied with one meal a day. And if appetite was stimulated by bodily exercise among the ancients as it is now, I incline to think that his conclusions are correct. This author thinks that the Athenians were not satisfied with two meals, but that they had four. The first meal, corresponding to our breakfast, was the best; it was always taken as the shades of night were passing away. The next occurred at about eleven in the morning. There was another meal in the afternoon, and a final one before retiring to rest.†

The different dishes were carved by slaves, who were taught this useful accomplishment by professors, one of whom, when his pupils showed any awkwardness in the art, soundly cudgelled them with his stick. The same person was not allowed to carve indiscriminately every joint, or bird, but such parts only as he had been taught to cut. While the carving proceeded, musical instruments sounded; and it has been asserted that the motions of the carvers were made to accord with the notes of the lyre‡—a circumstance which must have been inconvenient to those whose appetites were more vehement than their love of music.

There was an officer at the Grecian feasts, whose duty it was to keep a sharp look-out, and to note how often and how much each of the company drank; and if any one became intemperate, this officer caused him to be punished. Before the guests sat down they crowned their heads with garlands, generally of myrtle, the object of which was to cool the head and restrain the heat of the wine. While the feast lasted, frankincense and myrrh were kept burning on the hearth.§

As regards their behaviour at table, one old writer quaintly observes that "spitting and coughing and speaking loud was counted uncivil in any but a gentleman (as we say in the

* "Arts of Greeks and Romans," i. 162.

† "Arts of Greeks and Romans," ii. 113, 114.

‡ *Ibid.*, ii. 114.

§ Rous's "Attic Antiquities," 294-296.

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university that nothing is fresh in a senior), and to him it was a glory, says Stobœus, to spit stoutly, as it is among us for great men to sit and eat carelessly. But pairing of nails was such a sordid thing that no gentility could bear it out." *

The ancient Romans are said to have made only one meal in twenty-four hours; but as the person who narrates this says that he does not personally believe it,† he can hardly expect others to do so; and certainly the representations of old Romans which have been transmitted to our times exhibit anything but emaciated forms. The Romans ate in public on three solemn occasions—at the funeral of some eminent public man; when public sacrifices were offered; and when a public festival was given on account of some joyful event.‡

The tables of the Greeks were round, and some were highly ornamented with silver and other metals. So luxurious, indeed, were the ancients in this piece of furniture, that when men at any time reproached their wives for extravagance in trinkets and articles of dress, they were accustomed to *turn the tables* upon their husbands; whence, says the antiquarian Rous, came this proverb. The Greeks did not use table-cloths, but wiped the tables with wet sponges. In the days of Homer, every guest had a separate table, or separate messes.§

The mistress of a family and the young ladies did not dine in parties, except those of relations. At these they appeared, but were very plainly attired. When Thales and Diocles went to a dinner given by Periander, after anointing and bathing themselves, they were brought into a room where sat the daughter of their host. She was busily engaged with an old man, trying to coax some information out of him as to the best way of dieting and physicking sick people. Before dinner the wife of the master of the house, who laid aside her rich clothes, and dressed herself in plain

* Rous's "Attic Antiquities," 302.
† "Arts of Greeks and Romans," ii. 114.
‡ *Ibid.* § *Ibid.*, i. 172.

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ones, sat down by her husband. During the dinner she gracefully distributed the garlands. Sacrifice was then offered; and when the minstrels had played some tunes, she withdrew.

In a representation of a Greek family dinner, a woman appears seated in a beehive chair at the end of a dinner bed, playing on a lyre. Her daughter, though not without blushes, stood at the table after her mother had left, to be instructed by the conversation, this being a party of sages and philosophers. But we are informed that the ladies were not excluded from society much less fitted for them.*

Among the Greeks there were three kinds of dinner parties. There was the club dinner, where every man paid his portion; and we are told that in order to make sure of the money, it was usual to insist either that it should be paid beforehand, or that a ring or other article should be left in pawn for it. It is added, that as every man had to pay his share for what he ate and drank on these occasions, these were the most temperately conducted of all their parties.†

The second sort of party was where a person sent his dinner in a basket to eat at a friend's house. The third kind was a marriage feast, provided at the expense of one person, though when it happened that the master of the house was a miserly sort of man, he used to propose that his guests should make a pic-nic of it, and bring their own victuals instead of his providing them. The last description of feast was that given by one person to his guests.‡

According to the account which Xenophon has afforded us of the table-talk of Socrates, it may be inferred that bread, instead of vegetables, was commonly eaten with meat. On one occasion the good taste and delicacy of the sage appear to have been outraged by "seeing one of the company taste of several dishes with the same piece of bread." Spoons, we may conclude, were not then invented. "Can any cookery

* "Arts of Greeks and Romans," i. 174.
† *Ibid.*, 174. ‡ *Ibid.*, 175.

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be more extravagant," exclaimed Socrates, "or more adapted to spoil dishes, than that which he practises who eats of several at the same time, putting all manner of sauces into his mouth at once?"*

At Athens no more than thirty persons were allowed at a party. Complaints were, however, not infrequent, that people came who had not been invited. On a person arriving who had been asked to dinner, he first embraced the master of the house, which was generally done by the junction of their right hands. Sometimes they kissed, and occasionally the salutation was effected by taking the person by both ears. Until the dinner was served up, they used to view the house and praise the furniture. They next crowned their heads with garlands of flowers provided by the master of the house. Then the bill of fare of the different dishes was brought in. Among the Romans, and also among the Greeks, a large bell rang when the dinner was ready. The chief persons occupied the uppermost places, and at public entertainments, each visitor was called by name to his place. The dishes were brought in upon a sort of tray. There were three courses, called, from the tables being removed, first, second, and third tables. The first, which was to stimulate the appetite, consisted generally of bitter herbs. The second course was more plentifully furnished, and the third consisted of sweets. The meat was served in dishes of wood, or of bronze for the richer sort; and some persons were ridiculed because they disdained to eat out of earthen vessels.†

Both the Greeks and Romans were accustomed to recline on couches while taking their meals. Round a table in the dining-room were set two or three couches, but there were never more than three persons on the same couch. The heads of all the guests were supported by cushions, and they were placed in such a manner that all lay on the left side, and with the right turned towards the dishes on the tables. He who occupied the head of the couch stretched his legs behind the

* Xenophon's "Memor. of Socrates," c. xiv., s. 5.
† "Arts of Greeks and Romans," i. 176.

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back of the one who lay below him, and whose head reached as high as his breast. The middle was the place of honour.* Before the guests sat down, their shoes were taken off, in order that they might not dirty the couch.† A canopy was suspended over the table, which, we are told, was found necessary to protect it from the dust and dirt that were allowed to accumulate on the ceiling. What was worse than a shower of dust, was the occasional fall of the canopy itself, which of course enveloped the dinner and the company in a cloud of filth.‡ Complaints were made of the quantity of spiders in Rome—the consequence of neglecting to sweep the ceilings. One of the emperors issued an order that they should be collected and weighed, when the weight amounted to no less than 10,000 pounds.§

By way of grace, a piece of meat was thrown into the fire as an offering to the gods. As the Greeks had no forks, they used to rub their fingers with soft bread and throw it to the dogs. In process of time dinner napkins were used. Wine and water were usually drunk during dinner, and every guest had a separate cup. After the tables were removed, they set on large bowls, which they filled with wine. The wine was emptied from the bowls into the cups, out of which it was taken by a sort of punch-ladle. The master of the house drank to his guests in order, which was done by tasting part of the cup, and sending the remainder to the person whom he named. Some accounts say that the Greeks, when they drank any one's health, sent him an empty cup, but the Romans a full one. In drinking to their friends, the Romans poured out a little wine as a libation in honour of the gods. And in toasting any lady to whom they wished to do honour, they took as many cups as there were letters in her name. Music and dancing followed in the evening. Tacitus informs us that among the Romans "it was a custom for the children

* "Arts of Greeks and Romans," ii. 5.

† Godwin's "Roman Antiquities," 120.

‡ "Sketches of Institutions, etc., of Romans," 286.

§ *Ibid.*

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of princes, with other young nobles, to eat their meals in a sitting posture, in the sight of their friends, at a table of their own, and less costly.*

The ancient Greeks, as well as other people in primitive times, were contented with masts and acorns for their bread, if not for their meat. After that, barley was eaten, and then wheat, which was roasted on the embers. They were forbidden to put on the table the brain of any animal, but the entrails formed a common dish.

Plutarch says that meat was not at first eaten, because it was deemed wrong to kill animals. But when the Delphic oracle directed sacrifices to be made, a diet of flesh was adopted. It has been asserted that pigs were the first animals whose flesh was eaten, and that oxen were spared for some time on account of their usefulness as beasts of draught. Lambs were prohibited on account of the encouragement of wool. As early as the time of Homer, the flesh of sheep, goats, swine, oxen, and of many wild animals, was roasted; but a doubt has been raised whether, in the heroic ages, meat was boiled.† The use of forks was unknown to the Romans, and it has been supposed that they trusted to the carver to cut their meat in pieces.‡ Pastry of various kinds is mentioned to have been in use, as also salads dressed with oil. Cheese was also in high request.§

One singular custom prevailed in these sumptuous gatherings, which was, that each guest provided his own napkin, which was carried by a slave, whose duty it was to bring it back. But we are told that it seldom came back empty, as a portion of the supper was generally concealed and carried away inside it. Very often, too, the guests sent off to their families at home some scraps of the meal while it was going on.‖ According to other authorities, however, this was only

* "Annals," b. 13, c. 16.
† "Arts of Greeks and Romans," i. 178.
‡ "Sketches of Institutions, etc., of Romans," 296.
§ *Ibid.* ‖ *Ibid.*, 292.

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done by permission of the master of the house, which was at once granted on application.*

Figures of the gods were placed upon the table, and beside them was the salt, which was looked upon as sacred. If this was forgotten, or spilt, the table was considered to be profaned, and the event was supposed to foretell some dire misfortune. This superstition was derived from the Greeks, as was also another, not exploded even in our day, the prejudice against having thirteen at table.†

During the early ages of the world, it does not appear that people were disposed to eat fish. According to Homer, the Greeks encamped near the Hellespont never tasted any; nor did the companions of Ulysses let down a hook until all their provisions had been expended. Antigonus reproached Antagoras the poet, when he was attired like a cook boiling eels in his tent, by asking him whether Homer ever did so. The Greeks, however, were great lovers of eels, which they dressed with beet; and they also ate salt fish.‡

The chief dish at public tables in Greece was black broth; pork, poultry, and game were generally eaten after dinner. Beef, pork, and kid were supplied principally by the sacrifices.§

The Romans considered fish as among the first of luxuries, and they took great pains in the management of fish-ponds. One Roman said of another, "He has more care lest his mullets should be hungry, than I have lest my donkeys should be so." Another employed several fishermen to catch small fish with which to feed his large ones, besides which, he occasionally, by way of indulgence, treated his fishes to a dish of sausages, which he used to cast into the pond. It was said of him, indeed, that he took as much care of a sick fish as of a sick servant. Cato the elder asserted that a fish was at one time sold for more than an ox.‖ Fish were sometimes brought to the table alive and weighed in the presence of the

* Adam's "Roman Antiquities," 406; Mart. ii. 32.
† *Ibid.*, 292, 293.
‡ "Arts of Greeks and Romans," i. 179.
§ *Ibid.*, 190.
‖ *Ibid.*, i. 277, 278.

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company.* Oysters were well known to the Romans, and were eaten at the commencement of a meal. The largest and best were taken on the shores of the Lucrine.† Occasionally they were procured from the British seas.

Among the favourite dishes of the Romans was the wild boar. At first we are told that only joints of it were served up. After a time the whole boar appeared on the table, sometimes with the choicest joints in its interior. At last it became the fashion to provide a separate wild boar for each separate guest. The boar's head is still a standing dish at Rome. An iron weight for weighing pork was discovered at Pompeii.

Fowls, including singing birds, and more especially their tongues and brains, were considered great delicacies. Small birds constitute a favourite dish at Rome at the present day. Eggs when served up were stained of different colours. Snails, and a kind of white maggot found in old timber, were fattened with care, and presented at the best tables. Stewed sows' teats and water-rats were also in great request.‡ Among the articles discovered at Pompeii is a large earthen vase, with wire lattice at the top, and small shelves at the side. This was a cage used for fattening dormice for the table, which were esteemed great luxuries. On the shelves they used to make their beds. The flesh of the hare was considered more delicate than any other food; and there was a superstition which caused it to be still more esteemed, which was, that the person who dined upon it would be beautiful for a week.§

The Roman dinner, or prandium, took place at mid-day.‖ Supper was the chief meal, both among the Greeks and Romans, and which they enjoyed after the fatigues of the day were over. In summer it took place at three o'clock, and at four in winter—considerably earlier than our time

* "Sketches of Institutions, etc., of Romans," 307.
† "Arts of Greeks and Romans," ii. 268.
‡ "Sketches of Institutions, etc., of Romans," 301, 303, 304.
§ *Ibid.*, 204. ‖ Adam's "Roman Antiquities," 400.

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of dining. Formerly a plain dish of boiled meat, honey, cheese, and eggs satisfied the appetites of the guests; but in time three courses were deemed necessary for the table of every man of condition. There was first a sort of preface, or preliminary supper, called the *ante-cœnam*, which consisted of such light food as was calculated rather to stimulate than to satisfy the appetite. Then came the second course, *caput-cœna* as it was called, and which was the main part of the meal, consisting of fish, flesh, and fowl, which were cooked in various ways. The third and last course consisted of pastry and fruits. The supper-room was generally the highest apartment in the house.*

Ice was used instead of water for diluting wine during the heat of summer,† both among the Greeks and Romans. Wine of native growth was indulged in by the rich among the Egyptians, and a kind of beer was the drink of the poor.‡

Herodotus records of the ancient Persians that they were much addicted to wine, and that they used to debate the most important affairs when intoxicated. But he adds, which is of no small consequence, that whatever they determined on in such deliberations, is, on the following day, when they are sober, proposed to them by the master of the house where they have met to consult, and if they approve of it when sober, then they adopt it; if not, they reject it. And whatever they have first resolved on when sober, they reconsider when intoxicated.§

Xenophon speaks of having met, during one of the expeditions of Cyrus, with some barley-wine in large bowls, the grains of barley floating in it even to the brims of the vessels. He says that the liquor was very strong, unless one mixed water with it, and that it was a very pleasant drink to those accustomed to it. Grape-wine appears to have been afterwards resorted to, and to have been preferred to the

* "Arts of Greeks and Romans," ii. 126.

† *Ibid.*, 240.

‡ "Penny Cyclopædia," art. "Egypt."

§ Clio, i. 133.

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other,* which the politeness rather than the palate of the Greeks seems to have induced them to commend.

We are told that it was a custom of the Thracians at their banquets, when the guests had drunk as much wine as they could, to pour the rest of the wine upon the clothes of the guests.† Another writer observes that the Scythians and Thracians indulging in wine, both their wives and themselves to excess, and pouring it over their garments, think that they observe an honourable and excellent custom.‡

The Greeks appear to have understood the art of grafting the vine. Their vines were also very lofty, and they could enjoy the shade under the branches. At the time of the vintage they exposed the grapes to the sun for ten days, as also during the night. They did not, however, put the wine into barrels, but into earthen vases or skins.§ One writer states that the bottle or vessel out of which they filled the wine was usually made of the skin of a boar; and that the cups were bulls' horns, though in time they used wooden bowls or cups.‖

The vine was not planted in the environs of Rome before 600 B.C., and until then wine was rare. Afterwards it became common.¶ Vineyards, indeed, were so much cultivated that agriculture was neglected; on which account, by an edict, Domitian prohibited the plantation of new vineyards, and ordered one-half of them to be cut down. The edict was soon abrogated.** The ordinary drink of the Romans at their feasts was wine mixed with water, and sometimes with aromatics. The wine was brought to the guests in earthen vases with handles, or in jugs or bottles of glass, leather, or earth, on each of which were affixed labels or small slips of parchment, giving a short description of the age and quality of the wine. The wine was mixed

* "Anabasis," b. iv., c. v., ss. 26, 27, 29.
† Suidas.
‡ "Plato de Leg.," i. 9.
§ "Arts of Greeks and Romans," ii. 326.
‖ Rous's "Attic Antiquities," 301, 302.
¶ "Arts of Greeks and Romans," ii. 326.
** Adam's "Roman Antiquities," 418.

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with water in a large vase or bowl, whence it was poured into cups, which were of various forms and sizes.* In order to know the age of their wines, the Romans signed their vessels with the names of the consuls, adding also the name of the country from which they came.†

Among the Greeks, death through intoxication was no uncommon event. In one case no fewer than thirty died on the spot, and six afterwards. Three officers were present at every considerable entertainment in Athens to see that each person drank his portion of wine, and to prevent any from, in this respect, shirking his duty.‡ Drinking matches took place, when prizes were offered to those who drank most. The Romans were equally addicted to drunkenness with the Greeks.§

We have taken a survey of the early condition of the world, as regards the appearance presented by our primitive ancestors; and have seen how they dressed, the kind of houses and cities in which they dwelt, and the general habits of life, more especially with respect to the ceremonies at their meals which prevailed in those times. The rude shepherds and rustic husbandmen, who originally found shelter in rocky caves or in thick groves, first presented themselves; and we have followed the course of history, until at length the stately and luxurious dwellings of Greece and Rome have been upraised. Contending with clouds, and dimmed by mists, the rising sun of civilisation appears above the horizon, while its vivid tints and glowing hues illumine each object on which they reflect; and diffusing vigour and animation and intelligence, wherever its bright beams are spread, the whole face of the globe is lighted up by the glory of its radiance. As he who desires to inhale the purity of the morning air, and obtain a view of the gorgeous splendour which Nature displays at break of day, should rise with the dawn, ere the

* Adam's "Roman Antiquities," 419-421.
† Godwin's "Roman Antiquities," 160, 161.
‡ "Arts of Greeks and Romans," ii. 82-84.
§ Potter's "Roman Antiquities," ii. 395, 396.

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hum of cities or the song of birds have commenced; so he who is curious to know the history of his own species, and to view man in all his phases, must commence his researches with the very earliest period of which the obscure and but imperfect records of history afford a memento. The lines are often faint and difficult to trace; but the bold and expressive forms, though dimly seen, may be deciphered with tolerable certainty. These early researches, like early rising of a morning, are not often accomplished without an effort; but in each case, the reward richly repays the labour that has been endured.

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NOTES IN ETHNOGRAPHY.

By Lieutenant-General GEORGE TWEMLOW, R.A., F.R.H.S.

THE third day of creation was ushered in by an Oorayoo (י.רי.עו). Then "*the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of GOD shouted for joy*" (Job xxxviii. 7). This may be held to prove that other orbs had been inhabited before this globe appeared. The "shout" was used as a battle cheer; after an "Hourah" of the men of Judah, a vast number of the men of Israel fell down slain (2 Chron. xiii. 15-17).

When, as in this instance and others, the definite article ה is prefixed, the "Hurrah" must have been nearly identical with the German and British "cheer," and the Indian *Hurrae Bol.*

Christopher Columbus has left on record, in a book preserved at Seville, that he was led to the (re)discovery of America by a perusal of the Holy Scriptures. He would read regarding "*far-off lands*," *Aretz Merokhoom;* and knowing that Upper and Lower Egypt were called *Mitzroom*, China and its dependencies "*Sinoom*," Peru and its mines "*Peruim*," he would conclude that the terms *Merikhoom* and *Peruim must* indicate continental lands *more distant than the isles.* He would read (about 990 B.C.), the ships of Tarshish "*once in three years brought gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks.*" He would read (Isa. xxx. 27), "*Behold the name of the Lord from far*," מֵמֶרְחָק, *Mi Merikhok;* and (Isa. lx. 9), "Surely the Isles shall wait for me, and the ships of Tarshish first, to bring thy sons from far," מֵרָחוֹק, *Merokhok*, "*their silver and their gold with them.*" He would conclude that the ships of Tarshish would not have been required had the exiles been near at hand; that they must be brought from the *Merikhooms* and *Peruims, whence came the gold and silver.* So Columbus became desir-

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ous of relieving their descendants; but, as Dr Daniel Wilson has written, "*intruding Europeans mingled the descendants of native conquered and conquering nations in one indiscriminate degradation.*"

Bishop Newton supposed that the grandson of Japhet caused America to be peopled, and there are mounds and gigantic ruins in America which warrant the belief that some early navigators must have found access by the Straits of Annian.

Dr Wells, in his "Geography" (vol. i., p. 76), writes: "The descendants of Tarshish were the most expert seamen, and, consequently, the chief merchants of the early ages of the world; hence the whole Mediterranean Sea seems to have been at length comprehended under the name of the Sea of *Tarshish;* and *because* the descendants of Tarshish were wont to make longer voyages, and to adventure further, than others did into the open sea, it is not unlikely that they had ships made for that purpose, and so of a different make, both as to size and shape, from the vessels commonly used by others; and hence it is probable that all vessels for longer voyages and greater burdens came to be called *ships* of Tarshish." He adds: "By these were peopled the greatest part of Europe"

St Michael's Mount, called Ocrium by Ptolemy, is said to have been the ancient Iktas or Ictis, where the produce of the Cornish mines was refined. These sorts of mounts and pillars were used as "way marks," in some cases as "light-houses," for the "ships of Tarshish."

The Rev. Mr Maurice ("Indian Antiquities") writes: "The magnet is mentioned by the most ancient classical writers under the name *Lapis Heracleus.*" The learned *Hyde affirmed his* belief that the Chaldeans (and therefore the Assyrians) and Arabians used the compass. Playfair remarks that the "compass was known to the Chinese eleven hundred and fifteen years before the Christian era; it seems identical with the '*pninim*' of Scripture." That the *declination* of the needle was known in China in the beginning of the twelfth century, is *proved* by a letter from M. Klaproth to Humboldt. It may have been known to them long previously. The attractive

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power of the magnet is noticed by Plato and Euripides, who called it the Herculean stone. The Chaldeans, Persians, Arabians, and Chinese used the magnet medicinally, why not in navigation? In Sanscrit the magnet is termed *The pointer out of region*, or "*quarter*"—"The north instrument." It was known to the ancient Hindoos.

Most of the chief mountains in Europe have the Eastern prefix, Ben, Bein, Pen, and Appen. In Scotland are the Ben-lomond, Ben-Nevis, Ben-Maor, etc. In England, Penzance, Pendock, etc.; and in Wales, Pen-limmon and Penmaen Mowr. The prefix is found in India, Africa, and America; in short, in all places visited by the ships of Tarshish. Solomon's vineyard is termed Ben-shomen.

In Britain, Ben and Pen were affixed to titles; thus Taliesen was termed Pen-Beird, Chief of Bards; Cassivelaunus was elected *Pen-tyrned*, Emperor; the last person who spoke Cornish had Pen prefixed to her name—Dolly Pen-traeth.

If (as is supposed) ships of Cilician Tarshish conveyed to America the early settlers, they would (like the Shinar and Baalbec builders) have used stones of a large size.

Dr Daniel Wilson refers to the "*Megalithic character* of ancient American architecture as indicating a centre from whence the intellectual impulse went forth." Acosta measured one of the building-stones of the fortress of Cusco, and found it 38 *feet long*, 18 *feet broad, and* 6 *feet thick*. Volney gives the dimensions of one of the Baalbec stones as 69 feet 2 inches long, 12 feet 10 inches broad, and 13 feet 3 inches deep. Marshal Marmont estimated its cubic contents as 15,892 feet. Such stones could only be used as basement stones in the time of Solomon.

The author of "Lettres sur L'Amérique," astonished at the size of the stones of the fortress of Cusco, after giving details, adds: "J'ajouterai seulement ici, avec D. Ulloa, qu'en voyant des pierres d'une si énorme grosseur placées à cette elevation, on est tenté de croire que ces Indiens connoissoient l'art de couler la pièrre." This does not seem devoid of probability; the roof of the great labyrinth of Egypt was supposed to be

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"one stone," but it is *artificial;* the bridge built by me over the Kaum river at Aurungabad, at the cost of £400, has its eight arches connected and braced from one side of the river to the opposite bank by one stone, but it is *artificially* made by collecting all the stones and pebbles off the adjoining fields, and throwing them and liquid cement over the arches to form the roadway, raised somewhat in the centre. It still does good service by keeping up communication between the troops, and facilitating transit of mails and commerce. The ancient Americans made vast works for irrigation. Dr Daniel Wilson writes: "Numerous canals and subterraneous aqueducts were formed to conduct the waters of rivers and lakes for irrigating the soil. *One in the district of Condeysur is of great magnitude—four hundred miles in length.*"

It seems reasonable to suppose that the "arts of the world's fathers were not lost" to the inhabitants of America, who could construct such works. GALEN was of opinion that those saved from the Flood only *restored* sciences. Lord Elgin, in a speech at the Royal Academy of London, after his return from China, observed: "The distinguishing characteristic of the Chinese mind is this, that at all points of the circle described by man's intelligence it seems occasionally to have caught glimpses of a heaven far beyond the range of its ordinary ken and vision. . . . It caught a glimpse of the path which leads to military supremacy when it invented gunpowder, some centuries before the discovery was made by any other nation. . . . It caught a glimpse of the path which leads to maritime supremacy when it made, at a period equally remote, *the discovery of the mariner's compass.*" *

The fact that the "glimpses" were inadequately followed up would indicate that these were obtained in very remote times, perhaps from the descendants of Noah, who peopled Shinar and Babel, and some of whom penetrated into China. The same observation might be made of the people of the East; they practise arts which they cannot explain scien-

* Walrond's "Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin," p. 392.

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tifically; they still use stubble and chaff in giving extra hardness to their tools. I learnt from an Arian ahungur, or smith, how to make copper answer better than iron for vents of siege ordnance, by judicious cold hammering, so as to close all the pores; but he had no idea of the cause—he had continued what perhaps may have been done from the time of Tubal-Cain. On being asked if he could cast brass naves for the heavy ordnance without an expensive furnace, he replied, "Certainly, by hiring out of the city of Aurungabad as many men, each with his hand-pot, as might be required for each casting." Accordingly he cast, without a single failure, all the naves required for the siege-train at Aurungabad, probably pursuing the same method as Kheiram of Tyre, when he cast for Solomon "*two pillars of brass, of eighteen cubits high apiece; and a line of twelve cubits did compass either of them about* (1 Kings vii. 15). The moulds sunk in the ground were kept hot until each man of about twenty had poured in his potful; and they asked for extra metal, to cause pressure so as to prevent pores in the cast, without apparently knowing the reason; only "*it was the custom.*" The extra weight comes into use at the next cast, but is as indispensable to prevent a porous cast as it is to carefully cold-hammer copper to close up the pores.

The following extract from Ewbank's "Hydraulic Machinery" may throw light on another Chinese "glimpse":—"There is another device of the Chinese which is worthy of imitation, and considering the increased security it offers to floating property, and the additional safety of the lives of navigators, it is surprising it has not been adopted by Americans and Europeans—viz., the division of the holds of ships by water-tight partitions. The Chinese divide the holds of their sea-vessels into about a dozen compartments, with strong planks, and the seams are calked with a *cement composed of lime, oil, and scrapings of bamboo.* This composition renders them impervious to water, and is greatly preferable to pitch, tar, and tallow, since it is said to be incombustible." The Hebrew word translated "*pitch*" in Exod. ii. 3

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is זֶפֶת *sepheth*, gum, resin; it is very doubtful if pitch would ever be used for vessels exposed to an eastern sun. Noah and the members of his family must have seen large sea-going vessels, as is evinced in the readiness with which they proceeded to build the Ark. Ovid mentions an anchor found on a lofty height. Had the anchor been of iron it would have rusted away; it was probably of Brazil wood. The Chinese anchors have been so made from the earliest times. It seems probable that בַּרְזֶל *Barzel*, sometimes means Brazil-wood, which was an article of commerce before the time of Columbus.

The Chinese stored coal in fortresses for the use of the besieged, by making mounds, covering the coal or charcoal with soil, so as to make ornamental walks and terraces. May not the Assyrian hanging-gardens have served some such useful purpose? Those who have had, in the course of duty in Fort-William, Calcutta, to inspect subterranean stores of fuel, will readily comprehend how much pleasanter the duty would have been had the Chinese method been resorted to. There is such a mound in Canterbury, used as a Mount Pleasant.

Ancient builders did not incommode their neighbours by working under their windows. All stones were squared and prepared at the quarry, and beams in the forest. Their simple modes of placing stones of Baalbec dimensions high up on walls is described in a paper by Captain George Twemlow, of the Bengal Artillery, published in the *Calcutta Journal of the Asiatic Society* for February 1832, p. 68.

The ancients made fortresses on heights by inexpensive processes of scarping. The Mahabaleshwur heights, near Bombay, are so scarped; and those near Nassuck, Deoqhur and Tagara, Gawilqhur, Narnallah, Asseerqhur, and many other hill fortresses in the East, may be named. "It is admitted," observes Mr Patterson, "that of the specimens of Assyrian art which have been discovered the most ancient are invariably the best—a curious fact, agreeing with, though not establishing, the hypothesis that the builders of the most

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ancient edifices at Nineveh were assisted by a people superior to their own."

There were sea-going vessels in the Eastern seas coeval with Mediterranean ships of Tarshish. Kæmpfer, in his "History of Japan," observes: "The Asiatic nation called Malayan in former times had by much the greatest trade in the Indies, and frequented with their merchant ships not only all the coasts of Asia, but ventured even over to the coast of Africa, particularly to Madagascar. The title which the king of the Malayans assumed to himself of 'Lord of the Winds and Seas to the East and West,' is proof of this, but much more the Malayan language, which spread almost all over the East."

The Rev. James Franks, of Halifax, quotes the above in his "Sacred Literature," and then remarks: "Thus far was known, but that from Madagascar to the Marquesas and Easter Island—that is, from the east coast of Africa till we approach towards the west side of America, a space including above half the circumference of the globe—the same tribe, or nation, should have made their settlements and founded colonies throughout every intermediate stage of this immense tract, in islands at amazing distances from the mother continent, is an historical fact which could be but very imperfectly known before Captain Cook discovered so many new inhabited spots of land in the South Pacific Ocean."

It is on record that a sacerdotal native of Tahitee (Otaheitee) who was with Captain Cook understood the language spoken in New Zealand.

If the far-famed island of Mahlunka (of the Hindoos) should have been sunk or washed away, this would accord with traditions regarding it. Malaya, in Hebrew מלצה would, according to the Mazaritic and colloquial pronunciation, be Malunga. It was the island whence Heimar Pundit is said to have brought the Megalithic style of architecture he introduced into India—that of building with stones without cement.

M. le Comte Carli * gives his opinion in favour of early inter-

* "Lettres Americaines." Boston, 1785, tome ii., p. 36.

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course having taken place between the Mexicans and the Egyptians, between the Peruvians and the Chinese, and between North America and the Scythians and Tartars. He dates the earlier intercourse to times when, as he supposes, New Zealand and Tahitee (Otaheitee) were conjoined, and inhabited by kindred people, who spoke the same language, and who have still many words in common, of which he gives twenty-four examples, including numerals from one to nine. The learned translator of the "Lettres" remarks, in a note: "*Voila sans doute, une rapport très etonnant, entre deux nations si eloigneés.*"

As regards the commerce of Solomon and Hiram, Josephus remarks: "The King had many ships, which lay upon the Sea of Tarsus. These he commanded to carry all sorts of merchandise into the remotest nations, by the sale of which silver and gold were brought to the King, and a great quantity of ivory and Ethiopians and apes."

Viscount Bury, in his "Exodus of the Western Nations," describes the "*Fairs*" still flourishing at Porto Bello, Vera Cruz, Carthagena, etc. At page 56 he writes: "The Spanish ships sent their sails on shore, and made '*Marquees*' of them; the land was covered between Porto Bello and Panama with droves of mules, laden with bars of gold and silver; monkeys shrieked in the woods."

Mines were extensively worked in America at a remote period.* Dr Wilson states that the Spaniards found the traces of the old mines the best guides to modern searchers; and they admitted the superiority of the native workmanship over anything they could achieve. He states that the old American mines are overshadowed by forests, the growth of centuries, and that the tools found are of bronze.

Embalming the dead was practised alike in America and Egypt. Dr Wilson observes: "Added to the facilities which nature has provided for perpetuating the buried traces of the ancient Peruvians, they themselves practised the art of embalming their dead."†

* Dr Daniel Wilson's "Prehistoric Man," i. 302.

† Dr Wilson's "Preh. Annals," ii. 226.

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In the Rev. William Holwell's Dictionary, under the head "*Tar*," Tor-Tarit, is written, "The first navigators when they traversed unknown seas, established on hills and promontories where they had commerce or settlements, obelisks and towers, serving as marks by day, and beacons by night. They were called by the Amonians (Chusites) Tar and Tor, the same as תור Tor of the Chaldees, which signified both a hill and a tower. Tor is signified a *fire* tower, hence the Turris of the Romans. In Chaldee Tor חור also signified '*Guide*,' as in Prov. xii. 26."

These "Guide" towers are found in the tracts visited by the early ships of commerce. M. le Comte J. R. Carli notices the "statues colossales" which the Dutch navigator Roggewin saw in an island in 26° 6′ south latitude, midway between Chili and Callao, said to be L'Isle de Davis, afterwards visited by Cook in 1774, who, it is said, could not comprehend how those people could have erected the colossal statues in the midst of the Pacific Sea; and at page 254, M. le Comte Carli, after stating that these and similar statues must have been on the summits of mountains, adds, "En effet les Chinois savent par un très ancienne et constante tradition que la mer engloutit, il y a long temps, un pays immense dans ces parties submergées."

These indications of former land are found more or less in the North and South Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, high lands left, intervening tracts submerged or washed away; as, for example, upwards of 2000 miles of land between Otaheitee and New Zealand. Tors or "Guides" still exist along the western coast of the former styled Arabian Sea, from Bombay to Cape Comorin, along the coasts of the Bay of Bengal, Gulf of Siam, and Chinese Seas; and monuments indicating early proficiency in arts were seen by Anson in the islands of Tinian and Saypan of the Ladrone or Marianne group of islands in the North Pacific Ocean. Some geographers regard this vast basin as occupying the place of a continent, which, in some now distant age, united the two great continental masses of our globe ("Gazetteer of the World"). Along the

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coasts, and up the formerly navigable rivers of Indo-China, Cambodia, and Laos, indications of ancient civilisation and commerce have to be more fully explored. A French artist and naturalist, M. Mouhot, has visited and described some, and two volumes, styled "Travels in the Central Parts of Indo-China (Siam), Cambodia, and Laos," by the late M. Henri Mouhot, French naturalist, with illustrations, have been published.

Some extracts from these volumes may, perhaps, cause a desire that further information should be obtained, and copies of inscriptions taken, by persons competent to elucidate truth, regarding the former inhabitants of these regions. At page 61, vol. i., "The greater River MENAM traverses the level country (Siam) from north to south, and empties itself into the Gulf of Siam. *It is the Nile of this region, the great fertility of which is owing to the annual overflowing of its waters.*" At page 62, "The ancient annals of Siam relate that about the seventh century Chinese junks used to ascend the stream as far as Sang-Khalak, a distance of 120 leagues from the sea; at present it is only navigable for 30 leagues at most."

It may be remarked that Tamluk, on the Hoogly River, is stated by Dr Hunter to have been the starting place in the fifth and seventh centuries of the "Yavana" fleets, the harbour of those days being now sixty miles from the sea. The Port of Tamluk may have been visited by Bhuddists from Indo-China. "The Chinese pilgrim who visited Tamluk, 399, 414 A.D., found it (Dr Hunter writes) a maritime settlement of the Bhuddists. Two hundred and fifty years later, a yet more celebrated pilgrim from China speaks of Tamluk as still an important harbour, with ten Bhuddist monasteries, a thousand monks, and a pillar by King Asoka two hundred feet high. At page 174, vol. i., of Dr Hunter's "Orissa," is written, "*In the eighth century*, A.D., *we find the Chilka Lake* (in Orissa) *a fine inland sea crowded with ships from distant countries.*" It is now cut off from the sea by a stripe of land from 300 to 400 yards broad, and has only an average depth of 4½ feet.

To return to M. Mouhot's travels, at page 65, vol. i., "The

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Siamese trace their genealogy up to the first disciples of Buddha (Gaudama), and commence their records five centuries before the Christian era." This will, probably, be a guide hereafter, when compared with inscriptions on the Dhauli rock, supposed to date 250 years B.C., or in the tenth or twelfth centuries after the consecration of Asoka. M. Mouhot further observes, "After the establishment of Ayuthia as the capital, history assumes its rightful place. The city of Ayuthia was founded by Phaja-Utong, who took the title Phra-Rama Thibaldi."* At page 278 is given a description of the temple of NOKHOR or ON-geor, "*the ancient capital of Cambodia or KHMER,* formerly so famous (M. Mouhot writes) among the great states of Indo-China, that almost the only tradition preserved in the country mentions that empire as having had twenty kings who paid tribute to it; *as having kept up an army of six million soldiers, and that the buildings of the royal treasury occupied a space of more than* 300 *miles.*"

The above is calculated to induce caution as to any entire reliance on what is written from the notes of a first enthusiastic visitor to these ancient buildings. The narrative is, however, interesting, and at page 278 is continued: "In the province still bearing the name of Ongoor, which is situated eastward of the great lake Touli-Sap, towards the fourteenth degree of north latitude, and 104° longitude east of Greenwich, there are on the banks of the MERON, and in the ancient kingdom of Tsiampois (Cochin-China), ruins of such grandeur, remains of structures which must have been raised at such immense cost of labour, that at the first view one is filled with profound admiration, and cannot but ask what has become of this powerful race, so civilised, so enlightened, the authors of these gigantic works?

"One of these temples, *a rival to that of Solomon, and erected by some ancient Michael Angelo, might take an honourable place beside our most beautiful buildings; it is grander than anything left to us by Greece or Rome.* One seeks in vain for any histori-

* The word "*Phra*" is probably derived from, or is of common origin with, the Pharaoth of Antiquity.—SIR JOHN BOWRING.

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cal souvenirs of the many kings who must have succeeded one another on the throne of the powerful empire of Maha-Nocor Khmer. There exists a tradition of a leprous king to whom is attributed the commencement of the great temple, but all else is totally forgotten. The inscriptions with which some of the columns are covered are illegible; and if you interrogate the Cambodians as to the founders of On-geor Wat, you invariably receive one of these four replies—*it is the work of Pra-Eun, the King of the Angels; it is the work of the Giants; it was built by the leprous King;* or else, *it made itself.*"

At page 280: "On a sort of esplanade, is a statue said to be that of the *leprous king.* It is a little above the middle height, and the prince is seated in a noble and dignified attitude. The head, particularly, is a chef-d'œuvre, the features perfectly regular, and possessing a manly beauty of a description seen now in very rare instances, and only amongst Cambodians of unmixed race."

At page 281 the statue of the leprous king is given, and has the Egyptian style of countenance, mingled with the Jewish, as might be expected to arise from intermarriages, Joseph with Asenath, daughter of the כהן chief priest of ON or Heliopolis in Egypt, and Solomon with the daughter of the then Pharaoh of Egypt. Joseph, about 1712 years B.C., had a son born to him (by his wife Asenath) named Manasseh, and another son Ephraim; other intermarriages would take place causing greater amalgamation between the Egyptians and Hebrews.

Abraham had sent away, while he yet lived, his sons by Keturah "*eastward into the east country,*" B.C. about 1853; may not Joseph whilst in power (before the reign of the Pharaoth who knew not Joseph) have provided for his children and retainers, and sent them away to favourable tracts of country with means of obtaining ascendency? If one of these tracts should have been in Cambodia, may not there be some *truth* in the tradition which M. Mouhot writes (page 279, vol. i.), that On-geor Wat "*was built by the leprous king*"—or for him after his deposition?

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The leprous king of Scripture, "*Uzziah*," is described in 2 Chron. xxvi. as succeeding his father Azariah when sixteen years of age, about 810 years B.C., his mother's name also Jacoliah of Jerusalem. Uzziah appears to have been remarkable for attention to civil affairs, and to have been a very able military administrator, having a numerous well-armed body of troops under able leaders, with engines of war for battering down walls, the invention of which has been attributed to Greeks and Romans; he is said to have conquered the Arabians and Philistines, that his name went forth עַדלְמֵרָחוֹק (*Yad-le-Merokhok*) "*far abroad*." This would include Maha-Nakhor-Khmer (Cambodia) if not, in particular, the "Merikhoom," as the very far-off lands.

But it is alleged of Uzziah "*when he was strong* (about B.C. 765) his heart was lifted up to his destruction, for he transgressed against the Lord his GOD, and went into the temple of the Lord to burn incense upon the altar of incense. And Azariah the priest went in after him, and with him fourscore priests of the Lord, valiant men; and they withstood Uzziah the king, and said unto him, It appertaineth not unto thee, Uzziah, to burn incense unto the Lord, but to the priests, the sons of Aaron, that are consecrated to burn incense: go out of the sanctuary." The result need not be transcribed (from 2 Chron. xxvi.) in full, but verse 21 is peculiar: "And Uzziah the king was a leper unto the day of his death, and *dwelt in a several house*," וַיֵּשֶׁב בֵּיתהַחָמשׁוּת dwelt in a free (public) house.

Bishop Hall comments on this thus: "Uzziah withdraws with a dejected countenance and heavy heart, and wishes to be hid no less from himself than from others."

It seems possible, if not probable, that this deposition of Uzziah by the priests of Judah may have caused emigration on a large scale: it seems to have been prominently known in the East. It is to be hoped that other visitors with the goodwill and under guard and protection afforded by the Phra King of Siam and his European (English) educated son, may throw light on the very remarkable ruins described and deli-

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neated by M. Mouhot. The descriptions are too long for insertion in these Notes, but the following extract from vol. i., p. 299, may induce perusal of the work itself: "*What strikes the observer with not less admiration than the grandeur, regularity, and beauty of these majestic buildings, is the immense size* and prodigious number of the blocks of stone of which *they are constructed. In this temple* (*On-geor*) *there are as many as* 1532 *columns.*" At page 139 a plate is given, "*The lion rock at the entrance of the Port of Chantaboun,*" which may have been an ancient Tor or "Guide."

The second volume commences with a description of On-geor Thum, or On-geor the Great, from which a brief extract only can be given: "Half-a-mile beyond Bakheng are the ruins of On-geor Thom (On-geor the Great). These remains are in a tolerable state of preservation, and are composed of a central tower 18 metres high, surrounded by four turrets, and flanked by two other towers connected together by galleries. *At the top are four immense heads of the Egyptian style.*"

These Notes are submitted in the hope of inducing some more competent person to explain: (1.) In what way, and by what ancient people, terms of Central Asian origin have been given alike in the east, and in the west—such as Ben Lomond, Ben Lewis, to hills in the west; Bengal, Ben Coolen, to districts in the east—and names alike to rivers and places; (2.) At what period, and by what people, the Megalithic works and gigantic temples in America were erected, and the forest-shadowed mines worked; (3.) By whom, and when, the gigantic buildings described in travels in Indo-China, Cambodia, Laos, etc., were erected.

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APPENDIX.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

TO THE

HISTORY OF THE SCOTTISH HOUSE OF ROGER.*

By the Rev. CHARLES ROGERS, LL.D.

ROGER (Janitor de Rogesburgh), Janitor of the church at Roxburgh in the twelfth century, held an office of responsibility and importance. According to Mr Cosmo Innes,† the janitor of a monastery was distributer of the alms of the institution, for the poor were supplied and alms distributed *ad portam monasterii.*

William Roger, who died in 1562, tenant-farmer at Coupar-Grange, was, prior to the Reformation, *conversus* or steward of Coupar-Angus Abbey. In virtue of his office he resided at "the grange," or principal farm-stead. As a lay brother, he superintended the *nativi* or serfs, and took care of the cattle. Being chamberlain or *factor*, he was regarded with reverence by the husbandmen who rented the other portions of the Abbey lands.

In the churchyard of Airlie, Forfarshire, a memorial slab of red sandstone commemorates Roger of Redie and his wife Euphemia Rollock. The slab bears the figures of an ornamental cross, a sword, and a hunting horn, also a blank shield. In raised Roman capitals the shaft of the cross is thus inscribed :—

"LYIS HEIR ROGER AND YOFOM ROLOK
QVHA DIED IN RIDIE 1640."

The farm or estate of Redie is now incorporated with the large property of Lindertis, belonging to Sir Thomas Munro, Bart.‡

* *See* "Transactions," vol. i., p. 357.

† "Lectures on Scotch Legal Antiquities," by Cosmo Innes. 1872, 8vo, p. 170.

‡ Jervise's 'bMemorials of Angus." Edin., 1861, 8vo, p. 274.

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In the MS. Rental Book of the Archbishopric of Glasgow is the following entry:—"1570. The xxix of Januer, Gabriel Roger is rentallit in VIII. & 10d. land in Mayrhill [Maryhill, near Glasgow] be consent of Thomas Dawe last rentalled, with speciall consent," etc.

The lands of Easter Keilor, in the parish of Newtyle, Forfarshire, belonged at the commencement of the sixteenth century to Sylvester Hadden or Haldane. He in 1514 witnessed a *retour* confirming Alexander Lindsay in the office of hereditary blacksmith of the lordship of Brechin. In 1645 Easter Keilor fell to Susan, heiress of her brother Alexander Haldane.* Connected with this family were the Haldanes of Bermony, parish of Alyth, Perthshire. According to tradition the farm of Bermony was presented to the Haldanes by James V., who, on visiting the locality in disguise, received some act of kindness from "the gudewife." The tenure was celebrated in this local rhyme:—

> "Ye Haddens o' the Moor ye pay nocht,
> But a harren tether if its socht,
> A red rose at Yule, and a sna' ba' at Lammas."

The name Playfair, anciently Playford, is obviously of Scandinavian origin. William Playfere, of Kent,† married Alice, daughter of William Wood, of Bolling, Kent, about the middle of the sixteenth century. Their son, Thomas, was born about the year 1561.‡ He entered St John's College, Cambridge, in 1584, and after obtaining D.D., and various preferments, was, in 1596, elected Margaret Professor of Divinity. He became chaplain to King James, and was successively rector of Chean, in Surrey, and of Shipdam, in Norfolk. He died on the 2d February 1609, and was buried in St Botolph's Church, Cambridge, where, on a tombstone representing his bust, is a long eulogistic epitaph, partly in Latin verse. He published many separate discourses, which have been repeatedly published in a collected form, and composed a work on Predestination, which was published posthumously. He is thus celebrated by Phineas Fletcher:—

> "Who lives with death, by Death in death is lying;
> But he who living dies, best lives by dying,

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* Jervise's "Memorials of Angus," p. 320.

† Fuller's "Worthies of England." Lond., 2 vols., 4to, vol. i., p. 509.

‡ "Athenæ Cantabrigiensis," by Charles Henry Cooper, vol. ii., p. 513.

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Who life to truth, who death to sorrow gives
In life may die, by death more surely lives.
My soul in heaven breathes, in schools my fame;
Then on my tombe write nothing but my name."

Playfair's signature is preserved in an old album, belonging to Mr David Laing, of Edinburgh, thus—"*Thomas Playferus, Professor Theologiæ pro D^a Margareta,*" with the date, "August 3, 1603."

A relative of the Margaret Professor was the Rev. Andrew Playfair, minister of Aberdalgie,* Perthshire. After studying at the University of St Andrews, where he laureated in 1600, he joined the Scottish Church, but, in token of his Anglican proclivities, he, on obtaining presentation to his charge in 1613, accepted episcopal ordination. He was born about 1580, and died about 1658. He left a son, Andrew, and a daughter, Margaret. Of his son we have no account. The daughter married George Halyburton, of the family of Pitcur, and cousin of George, Bishop of Dunkeld. He succeeded his father as minister of Aberdalgie, but was deprived in 1662 for nonconformity; he died in 1682. Mrs Halyburton was "remarkable for her knowledge, memory of the Scriptures, and gift of prayer." Her son was the eminent and pious Professor Thomas Halyburton of St Andrews, author of "The Great Concern of Salvation."

* Scott's "Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ," vol. ii., p. 620.

M'Farlane & Erskine, Printers, Edinburgh.

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